

**Everyday geographies of belonging:
Young refugees and 'home-making' in Glasgow**

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Abstract

This thesis explores everyday geographies of belonging of young refugees living in Glasgow, Scotland. The young participants are aged between 15-25 years and have arrived in the city within the last three years. A multi-layered understanding of young refugees' sense of belonging and 'home-making' in Glasgow is enabled through 18 months of fieldwork based on participant observation with two refugee organisations in Glasgow; thirty individual interviews and five group discussions with young refugees; and three participatory projects.

In this thesis, I suggest that by exploring belonging through the lens of the everyday it is possible to account for young refugees' experiences at the intersection of national politics of belonging and an emotional and embodied sense of being 'at home'. I can thus demonstrate the ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow, and render visible the constant tension between exclusionary politics of belonging shaping young people's everyday spaces and lives, and daily practices of home making and community building. In accounting for young people's lived realities, this thesis makes an important contribution to current scholarship, which has tended to be policy-focused, seldom providing in-depth insights into young refugees' everyday experiences of belonging and home.

This thesis follows young people's narratives in three separate empirical chapters, which together account for the complex interplay of different dimensions and scales of belonging in young people's lives. I begin by discussing limitations and barriers posed by national politics of belonging for young people's ability to develop a sense of being 'at home' in their new environment. Having thus set the context, the remaining two chapters explore a range of different everyday practices through which young people carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging in tension with these limiting circumstances. Whilst overall focusing on everyday experiences of belonging, I conclude by drawing attention to the potential of the everyday to provide a basis for - albeit almost inaudible - claims to belonging.

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¹ Georges Delerue: Le Grand Choral - Thanks, All!

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Glossary and abbreviations

Glossary

<i>Ceilidh</i>	Scottish/Gaelic folk music and social dance
<i>Doner Kebab</i>	Meat cooked on rotisserie, popular 'fast-food' originally from Turkey
<i>Eid</i>	Here: Festival of breaking the fast, marking the end of Ramadan
<i>Halal</i>	'Permitted' according to Islamic law
<i>Haram</i>	'Forbidden' according to Islamic law
<i>Hijab</i>	Item of clothing for Muslim women; veil covering head and chest
<i>Iftar</i>	Evening meal marking the end of a day of fasting during Ramadan
<i>Irn Bru</i>	Orange coloured soft drink produced in Scotland
<i>Jummah</i>	Friday prayers
<i>Pho</i>	Vietnamese soup
<i>Plantain</i>	Cooking bananas
<i>Ramadan</i>	Month of fasting in the 9 th month of the Islamic calendar
<i>Salwar kameez</i>	Item of clothing consisting of trousers and a tunic
<i>Sunni/Shia</i>	Denominations of Islam

Abbreviations:

COO	Country of Origin
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages

Chapter 1
Introduction and research context



Photograph 1 'You are welcome' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

This thesis explores everyday geographies of belonging in the lives of young refugees in Glasgow. The research project focused on the experiences of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 who had arrived in the city in the previous three years. It was based on 18 months of fieldwork involving participant observation with two main organisations working with young refugees in Glasgow, as well as interviews and participatory projects. While the group of young people involved in this research was diverse in terms of age, ethnicity, religion, individual circumstances and life stories, they shared the common experience of being categorised as ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘refugees’. As Brah et al. (1999) argue, immigration status has become a dominant signifier of national belonging and these labels already denote limitations for young people’s ability to belong to Scotland and the UK. Moreover being identified as ‘asylum seekers’ meant that young people taking part in this research were subject to immigration policies, which over the past decades have become more and more restrictive (Bloch 2000) and increasingly lead to the legal, economic and social marginalisation of those seeking asylum (Crawley et al. 2011, Bloch & Schuster 2005). In this thesis I suggest that by exploring belonging through the lens of the everyday it is possible to account for young refugees’ experiences at the intersection of national politics of belonging and an emotional and embodied sense of being ‘at home’. I thus demonstrate the ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow, and render visible the constant tension between exclusionary politics of belonging shaping young people’s everyday spaces and lives, and daily practices of home making and community building. Through this focus I can furthermore demonstrate how different scales of belonging interrelate in young people’s everyday lives.

This PhD project contributed to a scheme of research carried out by the Scottish Refugee Council on the integration of refugees in Scotland (Mulvey 2013). My own research was intended to add the views of young people to this study since previous research with young refugees had seldom focused on the Scottish context and existing publications solely centred on the experiences of children, i.e. those under the age of 18. Scotland as a research location is, however, interesting for several reasons. First of all it is unique in its approach to provision for ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’, providing every single child arriving in the country with an

individual guardian.² Moreover the ethnic composition of Scotland differs from the English and Welsh context, with a smaller proportion and different make-up of ethnic minority groups (Hopkins 2008b). While the dispersal of asylum seekers to Glasgow is slowly changing the ethnic landscape of the city, ethnic communities of asylum seekers are still relatively small and in the case of certain countries of origin virtually in-existent. Besides, Scotland has often been constructed as more welcoming than its English counterpart towards immigrants (Penrose & Howard 2008) and while racism is by no means absent in Scotland (see Arshad 1999), research has suggested that the country provides a less hostile environment for immigrants than England (Lewis 2006, McCollum et al. 2014, The Migration Observatory 2014). The Scottish National Party's campaign preceding the referendum in 2014 was clearly marked by a commitment to fairer immigration procedures and an awareness of the country's dependence on immigration in the face of an ageing population.³ With this research I focused on Glasgow specifically since it represents the only dispersal city in the country and over the past decade on average has accommodated the largest number of asylum seekers outside London. Similarly the majority of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in Scotland are currently based in Glasgow.

In addition to contributing to the study carried out by the Scottish Refugee Council, this thesis addresses certain gaps in current scholarship with young refugees. Aside from a predominant focus on those identified as 'children', research has been dominated by policy-led inquiries into 'issues' faced by this group of young people (see for example Ayotte & Williamson 2001, Hopkins & Hill 2006, Macaskill 2002, Save the Children 2004). What has been absent in most research were insights into how young refugees negotiate the difficulties they face and how they make sense of their new social and spatial environment. Notions of belonging have only recently started to gain attention in research with young refugee, and with this thesis I wish to contribute to this small but growing body of literature. My research provides a much needed focus on young refugees' subjective experiences and feelings of being 'at home'. Whilst not losing sight of the effects of exclusionary politics of belonging, in this thesis I account for young refugees' agency in carving out spaces and

² The Refugee Council's Children's Panel (based in London) also provides one-to-one support to 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', yet it cannot provide each individual child with ongoing intensive support in the way the Scottish Guardianship Service does. This also has to do with the comparatively small number of unaccompanied minors arriving in Scotland.

³ See for example: <http://www.snp.org/blog/post/2014/may/what-yes-vote-means-immigration> (05.07.2015)

‘communities’ of belonging in their everyday lives - something that again has received little attention in research with ‘vulnerable’ refugee children.

This chapter is divided into two parts, the first providing an introduction to this thesis, the second giving an oversight of central terminology and legislation regarding the asylum context in the UK. I begin the first part by briefly considering the concept of belonging underlying this thesis, which I will return to in greater detail in Chapter 2. I then provide an overview of literature engaging with the experiences of young refugees in the UK, discussing gaps identified above in more detail. Following from this I move on to present the questions guiding this research as well as summarising the main findings of this research project. I conclude this first part by providing an overview of chapters included in this thesis. The second part of the chapter then sets out important contextual information regarding the research locality as well as the asylum system and support available to asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow.

Part I: Overview of the research project

1.1 The concept of belonging

The concept of belonging has a relatively short history within social sciences; it has become increasingly popular since the early 2000s and has been employed in a variety of disciplines - such as cultural studies, feminist theory, politics and sociology, as well as geography. Whilst engaging with a whole range of perspectives on group membership and identity, research has predominantly engaged with issues of migration, both exploring the experiences of migrants as well as the effects of migration on (conceptualisations of) nation states. As Crowley (1999) suggests, the term belonging is highly useful in understanding human relationships and experiences in the context of migration and mobility and similarly the geographer Gilmartin asserts that belonging provides ‘a way to ground the relationship between migration and identity’ (2008:1842).

As indicated above, the concept has gained popularity in a variety of disciplines, yet there is no one single definition of what belonging refers to. While there is thus a lack of coherent theorising of the concept (Mee & Wright 2009), one important differentiation has informed a significant number of inquiries within social sciences - namely the definition of belonging as comprising both the politics of belonging as well as a subjective emotional sense of belonging (Antonsich 2010, Fenster 2005, Yuval-Davis 2011, Yuval-Davis et al. 2006). Antonsich, one of the few geographers

providing a framework for conceptualising belonging, for example distinguishes between 'belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being "at home" in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion' (2010:645). A sense of belonging therefore both refers to subjective and emotional attachments to places - and people, as I would add - as well as negotiations of group membership and processes of inclusion and exclusion. While both elements have been acknowledged in previous research employing the concept of belonging, scholarship to date has tended to give greater attention to the politics of belonging than to subjective and emotional feelings of being 'at home' (Wood & Waite 2011). Partly as a consequence of this tendency scholars have frequently used the concept closely aligned to identity and identity politics. Antonsich (2010), who similarly notes a predominant focus on the politics of belonging, calls for scholars to engage with experiences at the intersection of the politics of belonging and a subjective and emotional sense of being 'at home'. This, I suggest, becomes possible by focusing on the everyday. In this thesis I can thus account for both how national politics of belonging impact on young refugees' everyday lives and ability to develop a sense of belonging in their new surroundings, as well as the ways in which these young people develop a sense of being 'at home' on the basis of everyday practices of home making in tension with these limiting circumstances. With its focus on the everyday this thesis renders visible the deeply ambivalent nature of belonging, showing the complex interweaving of exclusionary politics of belonging and a subjective and emotional sense of being 'at home' in young people's lives.

1.2 Young refugees in the UK: A review of literature

The past decade has seen a plethora of research focusing on the experiences of young refugees in the UK, comprising academic literature, research commissioned or carried out by organisations in the third sector, as well as projects emerging from the intersection of policy and academia. This growing interest was fuelled by an increasing awareness of children's rights and the fact that European countries were increasingly confronted with asylum seeking children who arrived on their own without parents or guardians. Subsequent research aimed at identifying the needs of this particular group, as well as documenting the conditions and policies refugee children had to negotiate when arriving in the UK. This research was thereby carried out across different disciplines and covered a whole range of interests. Aside from reports assessing general issues experienced by asylum seeking children (see

Ayotte & Williamson 2001, Kidane 2001, Stanley 2001), special attention has been afforded to certain areas such as social work with 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' - focusing both on service provision (see Kohli 2001, 2006, 2007; Kohli & Mitchell 2007, Mitchell 2003, Wade et al. 2005), as well as the issue of age assessments (see Clarke 2011, Crawley 2007, Kvittingen 2010), the position of 'children' in the asylum process (see Bhabha & Finch 2006, Crawley 2010, 2011; Giner 2007), mental health and emotional wellbeing (see Chase et al. 2008, Fazel & Stein 2003, Hodes 2000, Leavy et al. 2004), and education (see Arnot & Pinson 2005, Candappa 2000, Hek 2005, Pinson et al. 2010, Rutter 2006). Past years have also seen a growing interest in children's experiences of trafficking (see Chase & Stratham 2005, Franklin & Doyle 2013, O'Connell Davidson 2011, ECPAT 2009, 2010; Rigby 2011, SSCYP 2011) and - to a lesser extent - the experiences of undocumented children and young people (see Coram Children's Legal Centre 2013, Sigona & Hughes 2010, 2012). The small number of publications focusing on the Scottish context have mostly resulted from research commissioned by the third sector - such as the Scottish Refugee Council and Save the Children, or the Scottish Government (see Candappa et al. 2007, Hopkins & Hill 2006, 2010, Macaskill 2002, Macaskill & Petrie 2000, Save the Children 2004, 2006) and have predominantly aimed at identifying barriers and difficulties refugee children face in Scotland.

While this body of literature covers a whole range of facets of young refugees' lives, there are three main gaps that gave the impetus to this PhD project, namely the relative absence of young refugees over the age of 18 and in particular young men from previous research, a lack of attention afforded to young people's agency, as well as a lack of in-depth explorations of young people's subjective experiences of home and belonging - although there are some notable exceptions I will return to below. First of all the majority of research projects focuses on the experiences of refugee 'children', i.e. those under the age of 18, despite the fact that young people over the age of 18 - and in particular young men - represent a major segment of the asylum seeking population. Focusing solely on asylum seekers under the age of 18 runs the risk of reproducing distinctions made between seemingly vulnerable 'children' and autonomous 'adults', a distinction based on highly problematic and ethnocentric conceptualisations of childhood (see Malkki & Martin 2003). Moreover discourses of vulnerability are not only connected to notions of age but also gender, with male refugees often being depicted as less 'vulnerable' than their female counterparts. Yet, as Judge asserts, young men are particularly susceptible 'to

xenophobic, gendered and racialised imaginings of displaced people in mainstream political discourse and popular press' (2010:14). This has for example become apparent in imaginations of 'radicalised' young men shaping current debates surrounding terrorism, or recent 'moral panics' concerning the arrival of young single men in Europe. Young adults, and in particular young male refugees, are hence more likely to become the targets of exclusionary politics and discrimination, as well as having been widely ignored in research with young refugees. In this thesis I account for how these different categorisations influence young people's experiences of belonging and the ways in which they can contribute to the precarious situation of those perceived as less 'vulnerable'.

A further gap in current scholarship is related to this predominant focus on 'children'. Much of the research dealing with experiences of refugee children is 'issue-based', exploring the difficulties young refugees face living in the UK. While this is incredibly important in order to challenge exclusionary policies and in this thesis I also look at barriers young people face in developing a sense of belonging in Glasgow and beyond, there often seems an underlying assumption that refugee children are per se 'vulnerable' and have little agency of their own. This for example becomes apparent when Thomas and Byford refer to the guidelines of the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health, which state 'that children are a unique research group who are particularly vulnerable, easily bewildered and frightened and unable to express their needs or defend their interests' (2003:1401). An extensive body of literature that focuses on refugee children's mental health needs has in particular contributed to the notion of the 'vulnerable' refugee child, stressing issues of trauma, PTSD, depression, anxiety, somatic conditions, difficult behaviour or aggression and disruptive behaviour (see Burnett & Fassil 2002, Goodman 2004, Hodes 2000, 2002, 2005, Hodes et al. 2008, Leavey et al. 2004). Yet also outside the discipline of psychology refugee children tend to be depicted as traumatised, bewildered, and as de Block and Buckingham (2007) assert, as experiencing 'culture shock' when arriving in their new surroundings. Yet even if not stressing the vulnerability of refugee children explicitly, researchers have seldom accounted for the ways in which young refugees cope with living in their new environment. Overall little attention has

thus been paid to young refugees' agency,⁴ although a small number of studies, which I will return to below, form notable exceptions.

As indicated above, a further gap in current scholarship this study aims to address is the relative absence of research explicitly dealing with issues of belonging. Studies in the past have implicitly touched upon factors impacting on young refugees' sense of being 'at home'. Researchers have for example focused on the negative effects of the asylum system on young refugees' wellbeing (see Chase et al. 2008, Hopkins & Hill 2006, Stanley 2001, Thomas et al. 2004), the lack of safe accommodation and housing in areas of multiple deprivation (see Hopkins & Hill 2006, Kidane 2001, Macaskill 2002, Mitchell 2003, Save the Children 2004), as well as experiences of racism and discrimination (see Arshad 1999, Cunningham Burley & King 2008, Owen 2005). In addition to publications touching upon relevant issues, a small number of research projects have focused explicitly on young refugees' belongings. These have chosen a range of different perspectives on the subject - for example exploring negotiations of identity of young Somali refugees (Sporton et al. 2006, Valentine et al. 2008, Valentine & Sporton 2009, 2010), citizenship in the context of education for asylum seeking children (Pinson et al. 2010), refugee children's experiences of belonging in the context of media production and consumption (de Block & Buckingham 2007) or experiences of exclusion and inclusion in particular neighbourhoods (Spicer 2008). Two further publications provide detailed insights into young refugees' experiences - Sirriyeh's (2013) research exploring young women's home making practices in Leeds and Huddersfield, as well as research carried out by Tyrrell et al. (2011) with migrant children in Ireland, with one chapter focusing in particular on asylum seeking children.

As this brief discussion shows, there are both scholarly contributions indirectly dealing with belonging, as well as a small but growing body of literature explicitly focusing on these issues. While the former provide valuable insights into the difficulties young refugees experience in developing a feeling of being 'at home' in the UK, they do not do justice to the complexity of young refugees' experiences and the ways in which young refugees negotiate these difficult circumstances. They

⁴ Some researchers have employed the term 'resilience' to account for young refugees' agency; Maegusuku-Hewett et al. (2007) for example aim to demonstrate refugee children's 'resilience' by focusing on their 'cultural identities' and 'personal attributes'. The term resilience has, however, become the target of criticism when being employed in a way that focuses solely on individual actors (Boyden & Cooper 2007) and is not acknowledged as being 'constructed through a process of children's interaction in their social environment' (Chi 2010:317).

furthermore fall short of showing the nuances of particular issues they touch upon; for example while it is important to talk about racist assaults and discrimination young refugees experience, only focusing on these means that one does not account for the more intangible ways in which national politics of belonging affect young people's everyday life and ability to develop a sense of belonging.

Researchers focusing explicitly on issues of belonging provide a more nuanced understanding of young refugees' experiences; yet again there are certain gaps I address with this research. First of all publications listed above have not engaged with the Scottish context, which differs from Ireland and England. Secondly relatively little attention has been paid to the everyday lived reality of young refugees and the ways in which these young people establish a sense of being 'at home' (with the notable exceptions of Sirriyeh 2013 and Tyrrell et al. 2011). Yet as I show in this thesis this is central in order to be able to reflect the complex and ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees. Focusing on the everyday enables an account of the ways in which national politics of belonging shape and influence experiences of belonging, as well as showing the daily practices and routines through which young people develop an emotional and embodied sense of being 'at home' in tension with these limitations.

Lastly this thesis provides important insights into young refugees' experiences of belonging with others and the complex interweaving of identity and belonging in this context. Researchers have repeatedly stressed the significance of social relationships for young refugees' wellbeing and especially the relevance of friendships with peers (Crawley & Kohli 2013, Ni Laoire et al. 2011, Sirriyeh 2013). However, there is little understanding of how young people are able to establish new social networks, and how these newly emerging relationships facilitate a sense of belonging. Moreover scholars have tended to overemphasise the importance of ethnic 'communities' (see for example Beirens et al. 2007, Delaney 2006, Spicer 2008), ignoring the complexity of young refugees' experiences of belonging in this context. There is furthermore little awareness of the multicultural reality of young refugees' everyday lives in Scotland and a sense of community emerging in these multicultural spaces traversing cultural and ethnic 'differences'. All of these are gaps my research aims to address.

1.3 Young refugees' everyday geographies of belonging

Having identified gaps in current scholarship I now move on to discuss the questions guiding this research as well as summarising the main findings of this project.

1.3.1 Research questions

Contributing to the Scottish Refugee Council's study on refugees' integration, this research project aimed at documenting how young refugees establish a sense of being 'at home' and belonging living in Glasgow. My research focused on the here and now of young refugees' lives and did not involve asking young people about previous experiences, which would have added additional ethical challenges to this research project (see Chapter 3). Moreover while I am aware that migrants' belongings are also shaped by transnational relations (Blunt & Dowling 2006), I have decided not to explicitly ask young people about relationships with others living outside the UK. Knowing that most young refugees had lost family members or did not know about their whereabouts (Ayotte 2000, Thomas et al. 2004) and were often not in touch with families and friends abroad (Bushin & White 2009), I decided that I did not want to touch upon potentially upsetting issues. While young people at times chose to talk to me about relationships with friends or family members living abroad, this did not form a central aspect of my inquiry. Following from these considerations as well as the gaps identified in the previous two sections I therefore formulated the subsequent research question:

What are the limitations young refugees face in establishing a sense of belonging in Glasgow and how do they carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging in everyday life despite these limitations?

This overall question was divided into three sub-questions guiding my inquiry, namely:

- What are the effects of being classified as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' or 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', as well as hegemonic discourses of national belonging on young people's everyday lives and their sense of belonging?
- How do young people create a sense of homeliness in everyday life, and what kind of homely spaces do they carve out?
- What kind of relationships are young people able to establish in Glasgow and how do they create 'communities' of belonging in this context?

Having set out the questions guiding this research, I will now turn to provide a brief overview of findings resulting from the research questions posed above.

1.3.2 Summary of arguments

I suggest that by exploring everyday experiences of young refugees living in Glasgow, in this thesis I can account for the complex interplay and inherent tension between exclusionary politics of belonging shaping everyday spaces and lives of young people and an emotional and embodied sense of being 'at home' based on everyday practices of home making. In doing so this thesis renders visible the complex interweaving of different scales of belonging in young people's daily lives. In exploring young people's experiences of belonging, I furthermore afford attention to both the ways in which young people make sense of their new environment and their narratives of belonging in this context, as well as experiences of belonging that are more difficult to name and represent discursively - namely embodied and affective dimensions of a sense of being 'at home'. In considering these different elements of belonging I also aim to contribute to recent scholarship trying to bridge the gap between geographies of emotion and geographies of affect.

I begin this thesis by showing how national politics of belonging impact on young refugees' experiences both through a lack of formalised belonging and the resulting legal, social and economic marginalisation, as well as through hegemonic national discourses in which belonging to an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) hinges on particular notions of 'race', religion and culture. Being categorised and treated as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' or 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' is shown to impact on all aspects of young refugees' experiences of being 'at home' - a sense of familiarity, safety, agency and possibility, as well as community. Moreover being labelled as 'immigrants' and the continued salience of Whiteness and Christianity in imaginations of national belonging pose barriers for young people's ability to feel 'at home' and to claim belonging to Scotland.

Yet as indicated above, solely concentrating on exclusionary politics of belonging does not do justice to the complexity of young people's experiences of belonging living in Glasgow. In this thesis I demonstrate how young people develop a sense of being 'at home' on the basis of everyday practices - practices that are, however, shown to always be in tension with exclusionary politics of belonging. Above I have chosen the verb 'to carve out' when referring to the ways in which young people create spaces and 'communities' of belonging. I have done so in order to emphasise

the efforts behind everyday processes of home making - as participants of this study commented, a sense of being 'at home' is established "step by step" or "slowly, slowly" over the course of time. In this thesis I draw attention to everyday practices and seemingly banal aspects of everyday life on the basis of which feelings of belonging can emerge. I highlight the importance of embodied practices through which young people appropriate and familiarise their new surroundings, as well as exploring home making practices, which enable a sense of belonging in the present by invoking previous experiences of being 'at home'. In doing so I show a sense of homeliness as always in the making and dynamic, as created through everyday practices that are, whilst not independent of exclusionary politics of belonging, also never fully determined by these.

In addition in this thesis I explore how young people carve out new 'communities' of belonging living in Glasgow. Again I show the inherent tension between experiences of exclusion and marginalisation that impact on young people's ability to develop a sense of belonging with others, and the ways in which participants work through and against these limitations on the basis of everyday practices of 'community making'. In discussing the ways in which young people carve out 'communities' of belonging I explore both relationships and networks with those sharing the same ethnic or national background and the complex nature of young people's belongings in this context, as well as young refugees' experiences of belonging in multicultural spaces of encounter. While previous research has tended to focus on inter-ethnic relationships or relationships between majority and minority groups, in this thesis I provide an in-depth exploration of young refugees' feelings of belonging in multicultural spaces shared with other young migrants and refugees. I propose to loosen the tie between identity and belonging; in reference to Diprose (2008) I suggest to think of young refugees' sense of community as based on an 'open sense of belonging', a sense of belonging that is not necessarily connected to shared 'identity'. In this context I draw particular attention to an affective and corporeal sense of belonging based on the immediate experience of being together and everyday embodied practices of 'community making'.

Lastly in this thesis I suggest that focusing on the everyday not only shows the tension between everyday effects of exclusionary politics of belonging and daily practices of home making, but can also render visible the ways in which young people engage in wider politics of belonging on a micro-political level. I thereby draw

attention to young people's claims to belonging emerging on the basis of having appropriated and developed habitual knowledge of their new surroundings, as well as a 'quiet politics of belonging' based on narratives of tolerance and cosmopolitan practices and attitudes. The everyday is thus shown to also provide a basis for - albeit almost inaudible - claims to belonging.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Having given an introduction to this research, I will now provide a brief overview of the structure of this thesis. In the second part of this chapter I set out background information that provides an important context for this thesis, looking at the research location - the city of Glasgow - as well as giving an overview of the legal context and policies relating to asylum seekers, refugees and 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in Scotland.

Following from this, **Chapter 2** provides an in-depth discussion of concepts guiding this research. I begin by suggesting that the concept of belonging enables a nuanced understanding of young refugees' experiences, adding an important perspective to current debates surrounding 'integration' and 'social cohesion' - concepts that have dominated recent public and policy discourses in the UK. I then review relevant scholarship employing the concept of belonging, and lay out my understanding of home and belonging underlying this thesis. In doing so I point to gaps in current scholarship and the ways in which my own research addresses these. Moreover in this chapter I explore geographies of affect and emotion influencing my understanding of belonging, as well as providing a brief discussion of the everyday as a key concept guiding this study.

In **Chapter 3** I provide a detailed account of methods employed in this research and ethical considerations informing this project. I begin by giving an overview of participants involved in this research, to then discuss each method employed in detail. Following from this I present data stemming from this multiple methods approach, and the process of data analysis underlying this thesis. I conclude by reflecting on the ethics of doing research with young refugees and my own positionality and experiences in the field.

In the subsequent three chapters I then move on to explore the findings of this research. I have chosen to begin each empirical chapter with a short account of Apo's (15-18, Western Asia) experiences of living in Glasgow. Apo was a young man

who I had met early on in my fieldwork and who accompanied me throughout this project. I have chosen to refer to his experiences at the beginning of each chapter since they illustrate the complex and ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow. Apo's story shows both the degree of marginalisation experienced by young people, as well as the agency young people demonstrated in carving out a sense of being 'at home' on the basis of everyday practices, resisting and negotiating processes of exclusion and marginalisation in their daily lives.

The first empirical chapter, **Chapter 4**, sets out the limitations young people faced in developing a sense of belonging in Scotland, thereby providing an important context for the subsequent two chapters. I focus in particular on three issues affecting young people's ability to feel 'at home' in their new surroundings. I firstly explore hegemonic discourses that exclude certain bodies and identities from imaginations of national belonging, impacting on young people's everyday lives as well as their ability to claim belonging to Scotland and the UK. Secondly I discuss the effects of being categorised as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' or 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' on young people's ability to familiarise and 'home' their new surroundings. I conclude by looking at how all of this impacted on young people's ability to establish social networks of belonging in Glasgow, showing how young refugees had limited access to spaces of encounter, in particular with more long-term residents of Glasgow, and were often dependent on networks with other migrants and refugees, which in themselves were of highly fragile and precarious nature.

Having set out the limitations young people faced living in Glasgow, the subsequent two chapters explore how participants of this study attempted to create a sense of belonging despite these limiting factors. **Chapter 5** takes a particular spatial focus, demonstrating how young people carved out spaces of belonging through everyday practices and routines. I firstly focus on seemingly banal everyday practices central for a feeling of being 'at home', drawing particular attention to the embodied and affective nature of experiences of belonging. While the first part concentrates on processes of familiarisation based on short-term (embodied) memories, the remainder of the chapter engages with practices of 'productive nostalgia' (Blunt 2003) based on more long-term memories of home. Here I begin by looking at the ways in which young people produced a sense of homeliness through mapping spaces of the past on to their present surroundings. I then discuss religious and food

related home making practices in more detail, which also aimed at creating a feeling of being 'at home' in the present by invoking previous experiences of belonging. Throughout the chapter I show notions of the home as always being in flux and as subject to change and adaptation.

The third and final empirical chapter, **Chapter 6**, focuses more explicitly on young people's relationships, tracing the ways in which young refugees continuously tried to create a sense of belonging with others negotiating the limitations set out above. I firstly take a closer look at the complex nature of young people's sense of belonging with ethnic 'communities'. Networks with those sharing the same ethnic or national background are shown to provide important day-to-day support, a sense of familiarity and a 'community' to spend one's time with. Yet I also suggest that these groups did not necessarily bring about a sense of shared identity and belonging. From this I move on to explore how young refugees experienced belonging in the context of 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham 2009). In reference to Diprose (2008) I argue that young refugees established a sense of community based on an 'open sense of belonging' not reducible to shared identity, emphasising the importance of an embodied and affective experience of being with others for young refugees. I again afford particular attention to everyday practices through which young people carved out these (temporary) 'communities' of belonging. In the final part of the chapter I take a step back and connect young people's practices and their narratives reflecting on the multicultural reality of their everyday lives to wider politics of belonging. In reference to Askins (2014, 2015) I suggest that these can be read as a 'quiet politics of belonging', representing an alternative ethics of being together in 'difference' that challenged national discourses and politics of belonging.

In the final chapter of the thesis, **Chapter 7**, I summarise the findings of this research, drawing out the main arguments made throughout the thesis and the contribution this work brings to the field of belonging as well as scholarship focusing on the experiences of young refugees. I conclude by pointing to potential directions for future research projects.

Part II: Research background

1.5 Glasgow as a dispersal city

In this second part of the chapter I will provide background information relevant to this research. At first I take a closer look at the locality of this research project, namely the city of Glasgow. I then explore the legal context and policies regarding asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland and the UK. It is inevitable to discuss these in detail since immigration laws and policies strongly shaped the experiences of young people participating in this research.

This research was based in the city of Glasgow, which is the largest city in Scotland with a population of almost 600,000 according to the 2011 census.⁵ As the map below shows, the city is located within Western Scotland.



Figure 1 'Map of Scotland' (drawn by the author)

Following the heydays of the industrial revolution Glasgow's industries saw a slow but steady decline and the city today still grapples with issues of unemployment, deprivation and poverty.⁶ The fact that Glasgow could become one of the main dispersal cities following the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act was connected to policies aimed at tackling poverty after the second world war and its particular history

⁵ Scotland Census - Standard Outputs: <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html> (10.05.2015)

⁶ SIMD: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/simd-2012-results/overall-simd-results/key-findings/> (01.02.2015)

of housing in this context. In an attempt to reduce overcrowding and to alleviate poor living conditions, city officials in the 1950s decided to restructure housing in Glasgow through both the dispersal of parts of the population outside the city limits, as well as the demolition of old tenement flats, which were substituted by 'horizontal villages'. More high-rise flats were built in Glasgow at that time than in any other European city (Maver 2000), yet these were often poorly built and of low quality (Wordsdall 1989). As Reed (1993) suggests the buildings were frequently unsuitable for the Scottish climate and virtually 'un-heatable'. As a consequence, the local population today largely does not wish to live in these poorly built and inconvenient high-rises and most of these are now being demolished. However, in the early 2000s the availability of this housing stock meant that Glasgow was able to become one of the main dispersal cities in the UK and over the past 15 years could on average accommodate the largest number of asylum seekers outside London.⁷

When Glasgow began to accommodate refugees in the early 2000s the city had little infrastructure and prior knowledge regarding the provision of asylum seekers. The Scottish Refugee Council, one of the few agencies working with refugees in Scotland, at the time had to relocate from Edinburgh to Glasgow due to the growing demand.⁸ Furthermore this period saw the implementation of several so-called 'integration networks', which were set up in order to respond to the needs of this new demographic group and to encourage community involvement (Wren 2004). These integration networks today are still operative in most areas in which asylum seekers are housed. Amongst others they aim at enabling contact between asylum seekers and the local community, however, only seem partially successful in this respect (ibid). Besides over the years a whole range of other agencies have started to support asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow, such as the British Red Cross, Positive Action in Housing and the Unity Centre.

In addition to impacting on local provision available to those seeking asylum, dispersal to Glasgow has also affected the ethnic composition of the city and Scotland overall (CoDE 2014). Scotland has always differed from the English and Welsh context in terms of its demographics, having both smaller number of those identifying as members of ethnic minorities as well as a different composition of

⁷ Producing Urban Asylum: <http://www.producingurbanasylum.com/four-cities/dispersal-in-the-uk/> (15.05.2015)

⁸ SRC History: <http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/about/history> (13.05.2015)

ethnic minority groups (Hopkins 2008b). Yet recent years have seen a significant rise of members of ethnic minority groups living in Scotland and in particular in Glasgow. While in 2001 2% of respondents living in Scotland identified as 'non-white'⁹, this doubled to 4% in 2011. The change has been similarly significant in Glasgow. Here the 'non-white' population accounted for 5.1% in 2001,¹⁰ while in 2011 11.6% of the population identified as members of ethnic minority groups.

It is important to note that while Scotland has for a long time been imagined as an essentially white country (Penrose & Howard 2008) immigration has always shaped the social fabric of Scotland and Glasgow, most notably in the form of immigration from Ireland since the early 1900s and the resulting emergence of sectarianism and the racialisation of Irish 'Others' (see Miles & Dunlop 2002 [1987]). Aside from Irish immigrants, Glasgow's history has also been marked by substantial immigration from South-East Asia, in particular of Pakistani origin. Yet while immigration is by no means new to Glasgow, ethnic communities of those arriving in Glasgow as 'asylum seekers' are still often made up by relatively small numbers or are virtually non-existent.

1.6 The asylum system and provision for asylum seekers in Scotland

In this section I will set out important context information regarding laws and policies relating to asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland. While the Scottish Government has repeatedly stated that 'people who seek asylum in Scotland should be welcomed, supported and integrated into our communities from day one',¹¹ in reality its powers to do so are limited. Immigration is a reserved power to Westminster and legislation in this context, as well as provision of accommodation and financial support for asylum seekers is not in the hands of the Scottish Government; only matters such as health, legal advice and education are devolved powers. Before discussing the provision for asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow in more detail, I briefly provide explanations of relevant terminology and legislation in the context of asylum and immigration.

⁹ The 2001 census lists the 'white' population in contrast to 'Pakistani and Other South Asians, Indian, Chinese and other'.

¹⁰ Scotland Census – Standard Outputs: <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/standard-outputs.html> (01.07.2015)

¹¹ Humza Yousaf - Ministerial foreword in Scottish Refugee Council/COSLA 2013: New Scots – Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities.

1.6.1 Terminology and legal context

In this thesis I refer to participants of the study as ‘young refugees’.¹² Legally, however, a whole range of statuses was represented amongst young people taking part in this study and many legally did not classify as ‘refugees’ according to the United Nation’s Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (‘Refugee Convention’). The Convention, which was ratified by the UK in 1954, defines a ‘refugee’ as someone who:

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (Article 1A-2)

A person who claims asylum on the basis of the above listed reasons and whose claim is accepted is recognised as a ‘refugee’. Prior to a decision those claiming asylum are referred to as ‘asylum seekers’. Aside from refugee status, asylum seekers can also be granted other forms of temporary leave to remain, namely humanitarian protection¹³ or discretionary leave. The UKBA grants humanitarian protection in the case of ‘substantial grounds for believing that there is a real risk of serious harm.’¹⁴ Discretionary leave can be given to a person who fulfils the criteria for neither refugee status nor humanitarian protection. This form of protection in the past has most widely been applied in decisions regarding ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’.

The Home Office identifies an ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking child’ as someone under the age of 18, who:

- is applying for asylum in their own right; and

¹² I have chosen to do this for two reasons – first of all the complex range of statuses represented in this thesis would have been difficult to account for accurately. Secondly, I believe that the participants of this study left their countries of origin for particular reasons and I do not want to pass judgement of who deserves status and who in fact is ‘only’ an asylum seeker.

¹³ The Refugee Convention established the principle of ‘non-refoulement’; this determines that a person cannot be returned to their country of origin if this would put their lives at risk.

¹⁴ Home Office: Humanitarian Protection:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257431/huma-prot.pdf (01.05.2015)

- is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who in law or by custom has responsibility to do so.¹⁵

As indicated above if 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' are deemed not to qualify for refugee status or humanitarian protection and they cannot be returned due to a lack of 'safe and adequate reception' being available in the country of return, they are given discretionary leave to remain.¹⁶ Whether someone is classified as an 'unaccompanied asylum seeking child' in the asylum process depends on the person being accepted to be under the age of 18 by the authorities. As researchers have again and again shown, children arriving in the UK are repeatedly not recognised as 'children' by the authorities and consequently often end up being treated as adults in the asylum system.¹⁷¹⁸ Aside from the statuses described above, leave to remain can also be granted on the basis of a dependent claim, i.e. as partner or child of another person claiming asylum. Furthermore individuals can join partners or parents who have been granted refugee status or humanitarian protection for five years in the UK through family reunion.¹⁹ The majority of asylum claims in the UK is, however, initially refused.

Whatever the outcome of one's asylum claim is, in the context of this study it is important to note that those seeking asylum are likely to wait for decisions for lengthy periods of time. Despite the promise of faster asylum procedures following the introduction of the New Asylum Model in 2007, the asylum process can still stretch over several months or even years. The fact that many refusals are appealed contributes to long periods of uncertainty and waiting, times in which asylum seekers are unable to work or settle down (see Rotter 2010). Besides since 2005 refugee status and humanitarian protection are only granted for five years, a period after which individuals are expected to apply for indefinite leave to remain. As Mulvey (2013) suggests, this strongly impacts on refugees' ability to settle. The reduction of

¹⁵ Home Office: Processing an Asylum Applications from a Child: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/257469/processingasylumapplication1.pdf (15.04.2015)

¹⁶ See above

¹⁷ The complexities of this issue lie beyond the scope of this introduction, yet for more in-depth discussions see Crawley 2000 and Kvittingen 2010.

¹⁸ Because of this fact and the problematic consequences of differentiating between those seen as 'vulnerable' ('children') and those who are seen as autonomous and not in the need for additional support ('adults') I have chosen to refer to 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in inverted commas throughout this thesis.

¹⁹ Home Office: Settlement - Refugee and Humanitarian Protection: <https://www.gov.uk/settlement-refugee-or-humanitarian-protection/family-reunion> (04.05.2015)

refugee status and humanitarian protection to five years thereby mirrors EU wide developments, which increasingly favour temporary forms of leave to remain (Voutira & Doná 2007).

1.6.2 Demographic background of asylum seekers in Scotland

Statistics of those seeking asylum in the UK are constantly changing, mirroring conflicts and political upheaval across the world. Unfortunately the Home Office does not provide statistics for asylum seekers who have been dispersed to Scotland. Yet according to the COSLA²⁰ Strategic Migration Partnership (CSMP) 2,300 individuals were supported in approximately 1,100 households across Glasgow at the time of this research. Similarly there are no separate statistics available for ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’, however, a report evaluating the Scottish Guardianship Service provides some insight into the number of separated children present in Scotland at the time of this research. According to this report (Crawley & Kohli 2013) 81 young people were referred to the service by the end of 2012 and by the end the fieldwork in summer 2013 the project supported just over 100 young people. There is no statistical data available regarding young people who have been dispersed to Glasgow after having been assessed as older than 18 years of age by English local authorities.

The CSMP further states that most asylum seekers present in Scotland by March 2013 came from five countries of origin - the People’s Republic of China, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Nigeria.²¹ These countries of origin differed to some extent from the national composition of the asylum seeking population UK wide; here the top five countries of origin were Pakistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Syria and Eritrea. In addition the national background of ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ differed from that of adult asylum seekers. The above-mentioned report by Crawley and Kohli (2013) states that the majority of children supported by the Scottish Guardianship Service came from Afghanistan, Vietnam, Nigeria, Iran and Somalia. UK wide in the same period of time ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ predominantly came from

²⁰ Convention of Scottish Local Authorities

²¹ CSMP online: <http://www.migrationscotland.org.uk/migration-info-centre/migration-statistics/asylum-seekers> (16.04.2015)

the following six countries of origin: Albania, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iran, Vietnam and Syria.²²

Lastly it is important to note that the majority of asylum claims in European countries such as the UK are made by young male refugees. This gender imbalance, Bhabha (2004) suggests, partly emerges from the difficulties women face when attempting to migrate; many thus consequently tend to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. In the context of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', the percentage of male asylum seekers is even higher than in the adult asylum seeking population. In the year 2013 an overall of 86% of all applicants were male.

1.6.3 Support available to adult asylum seekers in Scotland

As indicated above, the provision of asylum support lies in the responsibility of the UK Home Office. Asylum seekers who are unable to support themselves receive both financial support as well as accommodation under Section 95 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. Asylum seekers in the UK do not have the right to work and the majority therefore depends on NASS support.²³ If a person's asylum claim is refused, their financial support is withdrawn after 21 days. However, under particular circumstance those whose asylum claim has been refused can apply for Section 4 support in the form of vouchers (the so-called 'Azure card'). For those who are granted refugee status support provided by the Home Office stops within a period of 28 days, a period after which refugees are expected to apply for mainstream support, such as jobseeker's allowance or ESA.²⁴

As indicated above, support under Section 95 or Section 4 also includes the provision of housing. In Scotland this is provided by Orchard & Shipman, who again have been commissioned by Serco, an international private service company contracted by the Home Office to provide accommodation and associated services to

²² Refugee Council:

http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/2704/Asylum_Statistics_Annual_Trends_Sept_2014.pdf (05.05.2015)

²³ There are exceptions for those waiting longer than 12 months for an initial decision if this delay is caused through no fault of the claimant him- or herself. In these cases people can access jobs on the Shortage Occupation List. These kinds of jobs are, however, highly specific and seldom suitable for (young) refugees. See: API Permission to Work:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/299415/Permission_to_Work_Asy_v6_0.pdf (16.02.2015)

Shortage Occupation List:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/423800/shortage_occupation_list_april_2015.pdf (01.07.2015)

²⁴ Employment and Support Allowance – for example for those who are too ill to work, or whose disabilities mean that they are unfit for work

asylum seekers in Glasgow.²⁵ Changes have taken place in the past few years, yet at the time of this research adult asylum seekers were initially accommodated in Glasgow (in)famous 'Red Road flats', a building that was the highest of its kind in Europe at the time of its construction (Maver 2000). Asylum seekers were then allocated dispersal accommodation in various parts of the city on a non-choice basis. As with financial support, asylum seekers whose Section 95 or Section 4 support has been terminated have to leave their accommodation within 21 days. Those who have been granted refugee status are expected to leave their accommodation within 28 days. Refugees consequently have to register as 'homeless' in Glasgow if they wish to continue living in the city and are unable to afford standard rents.²⁶ Having registered as homeless, refugees are then supported by Glasgow City Council to access social housing. While waiting for permanent accommodation, refugees are accommodated in temporary homeless accommodation, such as hotels, B&Bs and hostels.

While the financial support provided by the Home Office and its contracting partners is expected to cover asylum seekers' basic needs, researchers have repeatedly alluded to the issue of poverty and destitution amongst asylum seekers in the UK, resulting from the exclusion of asylum seekers from mainstream benefits (Crawley et al. 2011, Bloch & Schuster 2005). Single asylum seekers are allocated 36.62 pounds per week,²⁷ which only makes up for 70 percent of income support and effectively represents, as Mulvey suggests, 'poverty level incomes' (2013:139). Similar to dispersal policies these low levels of financial support introduced in 1999 have been seen as a way to deter asylum seekers from coming to the UK (see Boswell 2001). The use of vouchers has also been strongly criticised; a report by the Children's Society (2012) for example highlights the feeling of shame experienced by those using the card, the fact that the Azure card can only be used in particular shops and the barriers created by not being able to pay in cash - for example when wanting to use public transport (see also Asylum Support Partnership 2010). While there are no official statistics available, research carried out by Gillespie in 2012 suggests that hundreds of asylum seekers in Scotland live in destitution. As Gillespie makes clear:

²⁵ Scottish Refugee Council Briefing April 2012: New provider of support services for people seeking asylum in Scotland

²⁶ Scottish Refugee Council - Advice on Housing:
http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/how_we_can_help/i_have_refugee_status/leave_to_remain_in_the_uk/housing

²⁷ Asylum Support: <https://www.gov.uk/asylum-support/what-youll-get> (16.01.2014)

‘Destitution and homelessness affect people across the asylum process, often due to procedural errors and delays, exacerbated by cuts to mainstream and asylum services’ (2012:VI). Destitution is not only experienced by those in the asylum process or those whose claim has been refused, but also by those who have been granted leave to remain such as refugee status. The latter frequently experience periods of destitution when moving from NASS support to general welfare benefits such as jobseeker’s allowance (ibid).

Accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow has similarly become the subject of criticism in the past years. Mirroring UK-wide trends (see Sales 2002, Spicer 2008, Zetter & Pearl 2000), asylum seekers in Glasgow have been predominantly placed in areas of multiple deprivation, often in great distances from the city centre (see Mulvey 2013, Sim and Bowes 2007, Wren 2007). Those who have been granted refugee status also face several challenges in accessing permanent and safe housing. In the past Glasgow City Council was one of the main providers of accommodation to asylum seekers and the Council often allowed refugees to remain in the flats they had lived in as asylum seekers. Now that accommodation is provided by Orchard & Shipman, those granted leave to remain are expected to leave their homes within four weeks – a timeframe that is far too short, as Mulvey suggests: ‘There is a systematic problem whereby a large proportion of newly recognised refugees are made homeless due to overly tight timescales in the “move on period”’ (2013:48). In addition there is currently a shortage of social housing available in Glasgow, which means that refugees often have to wait for permanent accommodation for long periods of time, a time they have to spend in temporary hostel accommodation or ‘couch-surfing’ with friends.

1.6.4 Support and housing for ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’

While the Home Office provides financial support and accommodation to adult asylum seekers in the UK, local authorities in Scotland are responsible for the provision of support to ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’. Scotland in this context differs from the UK since different bodies of legislation regulate the kind of support available to children. Differences also result from varying definitions of who counts as ‘child’, with Scotland defining a child as being under the age of 16 (compared to 18 in England). An ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking child’ under the age of 16 is able to access a more extensive care package than those aged 17 and

older. The financial support children receive varies and depends on age, as well as accommodation type and the kind of support package children receive.

‘Unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ in Scotland are supported in the area in which they first come to the attention of the local authority, most children are thus accommodated across Scotland. The majority, however, live in Glasgow. There are different types of accommodation available to children in the city. Those under the age of 16 are usually either placed in residential units or foster care; there is, however, currently a lack of foster families available in Glasgow. Children over the age of 16 are generally housed in different types of supported accommodation. At the time of this research a number of projects provided accommodation solely to young refugees, one for example specialising on young male refugees and another operated by a children’s charity accommodating five particularly ‘vulnerable’ children. In addition further accommodation projects accommodated both refugee children as well as Scottish born young people. All of these projects provided relatively extensive support to young people through staff such as key workers.

Young people under the age of 18 are furthermore allocated a social worker and also often receive the support of an organisation commissioned by social work providing everyday support to particularly ‘vulnerable’ children. Moreover ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ in Scotland are able to receive support from the relatively recently established Scottish Guardianship Service. The project became operational in September 2010 and after an initial pilot phase is now funded by the Scottish Government. The service provides support to unaccompanied minors under the age of 18 or those currently undergoing an age assessment in the form of a guardian, who is defined in the following way:

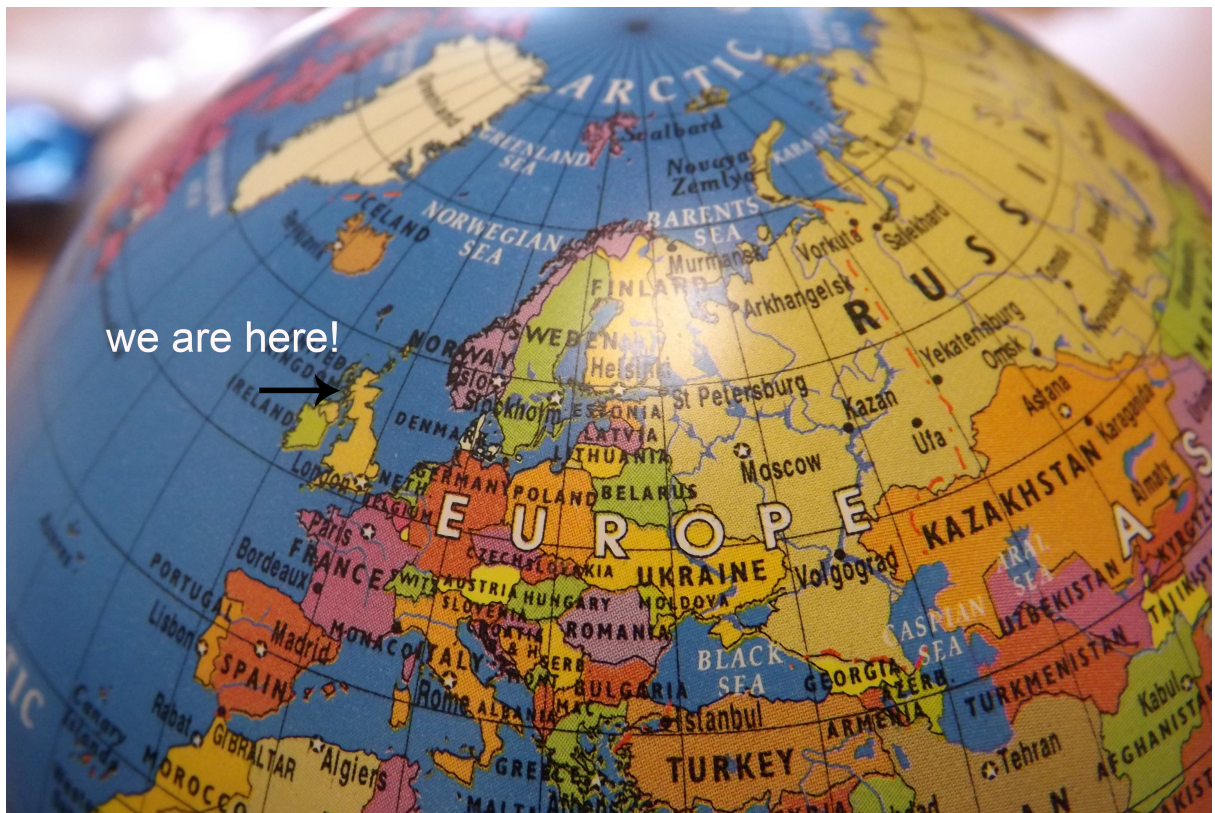
someone who accompanies children and young people when they claim asylum or are trafficked and are cared for by health, education and welfare services. A Guardian will help a child or young person to be actively involved in decisions that affect their life and to get the help they need, when they need it. A Guardian is on the child’s side, can explain what is happening to them, will listen to their views and experiences and speak of for them when needed. A Guardian will also help a child or young person to plan their future, whether in the UK or elsewhere. (Crawley & Kohli 2013:3)

The project, which was evaluated by Crawley and Kohli in 2013 seems to impact positively on young people’s journeys through the asylum system – recognition rates during the time of the evaluation were significantly higher than the UK average for the same demographic group. In addition the project provides an important social space

for young people to meet and interact with other unaccompanied minors. However, as indicated above, those who have already been assessed as being over the age of 18 by local authorities are not supported by the Scottish Guardianship Service; these young people are treated as 'adult' asylum seekers and are housed with other 'adults'. Having set out important context information, I now move on to explore central concepts underlying this thesis in more detail.

Chapter 2

Conceptualising everyday geographies of belonging



Photograph 2 'We are here' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

2.1 Introduction

I am writing this chapter sat on the desk on which I used to do my homework when I was still at school - I have returned to my parents' home this summer to finish this thesis. While this in itself brings about many thoughts and feelings about home and belonging, what I want to begin this chapter with is a letter to the editor of a local newspaper, which caught my eye a few days ago. Since coming back 'home' I have read the paper every single day, especially since these days it is full of articles about the 'refugee crisis' in Europe and letters by readers commenting on this alleged crisis, representing a whole range of views regarding who should be allowed to come to Europe and how those allowed to come should best be 'integrated'. In one of these letters, the author comments:

I just don't understand why people would want to come here - of all places! It makes sense that Chaldeans, Nestorians, or whatever those Christian sects in the Orient are called, fleeing from the oh-so humane and peaceful followers of Mohammed, would come to Europe. But Muslims? Why don't Shiites flee to Persia, Sunnis to Saudi-Arabia, the Emirates or other gulf countries? These countries are far more similar in regards to their faith, mentality, culture and so on.²⁸

The letter continues in a similar vein, yet the short extract illustrates a number of issues this chapter will speak to. Firstly it reflects the highly emotive nature of discourses surrounding immigration and (national) belonging - one can sense the author's confusion in the face of an increasingly diverse society and the fear the imminent arrival of Muslim and ethnic 'Others' evokes. Moreover the notion of belonging underlying the letter is interesting - Muslim refugees should, the author suggests, 'choose' to migrate to Muslim countries, since these would match their religion and culture. Belonging and identity are seen as static and fixed, as if people are born with a particular 'faith, mentality, culture and so on' and as a result are unable or unwilling to change and adapt to new circumstances. While it represents an extreme example, the letter mirrors dominant discourses pertaining to national belonging, sameness and difference, religion and culture. All over Europe the perceived 'refugee problem', but also the fear of (Islamic) terrorism increasingly spark discussions around questions such as - Who should be allowed to enter and who should be allowed to settle? Who can belong? How do rising numbers of immigrants affect local communities and how should governments respond to this alleged

²⁸ Salzburger Nachrichten 14 July 2014, p. 22, translated from German by the author

‘problem’? How should those who are allowed to remain be integrated or be expected to integrate?

What is widely missing from current debates is how asylum seekers and refugees themselves experience belonging in the context of mobility and migration, where they feel ‘at home’ and how the above mentioned discourses and increasingly strict immigration policies impact on their lives. In this thesis I employ the concept of belonging in order to be able to account for young refugees’ everyday experiences of being ‘at home’ in Glasgow and beyond. This term has been used in a variety of disciplines, often in a self-explanatory way, and in this chapter I delineate my understanding of belonging underlying this thesis. While the concept has been used in the context of a variety of subjects, in this chapter I predominantly refer to literatures focusing on issues of mobility and migration given that this represents the most relevant field for my own research. In this literature review I furthermore consider geographies of emotion and affect, which have shaped my understanding of belonging, as well as the everyday as a key concept influencing this research project.

I begin this chapter by briefly considering concepts of social cohesion and integration. I do this for two reasons; firstly these terms have dominated policy discourses on immigration in the UK in recent years and thus deserve closer attention, and secondly because, as I alluded to previously, my own study contributed to a scheme of research carried out by the Scottish Refugee Council, which explicitly focused on the ‘integration’ of refugees in Scotland. I therefore provide a rationale for why I chose to employ the concept of belonging instead, suggesting that this focus adds important nuances and additional insights to current debates surrounding social cohesion and integration. This is followed by a brief outline of central characteristics of the concept shared in critical scholarship. I then move on to explore an important analytical differentiation informing this thesis, namely the distinction of a politics of belonging, referring to processes and negotiations of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion, from an emotionally sensed feeling of being ‘at home’ (see Antonsich 2010, Fenster 2005, Yuval-Davis et al. 2006). I explore each of these dimensions in different parts of the chapter, in the context of the latter taking into consideration relevant contributions made within geographies of affect and emotion. However, as I illustrate in this chapter as well as throughout this thesis, these two elements of belonging are by no means distinct entities and interweave in complex ways. This becomes particularly apparent in the

final section of this chapter, in which I introduce the everyday as a possible lens through which to explore belonging at the intersection of a politics of belonging and an affective and embodied sense of being 'at home'. This focus, I suggest, enables me to render visible the ambivalent and complex interplay of different dimensions and scales of belonging in the lives of young refugees living in Glasgow.

2.2 Social cohesion and integration - Considering recent debates

Public and policy discourses surrounding immigration in the UK have dealt with similar questions as those posed above, and two concepts most notably informing these discourses are social (or community) cohesion and integration. While these terms are by no means new, they in particular gained potency in the late 1990s and early 2000s and have since significantly influenced policy discourses. These have thereby to a large extent replaced policies of multiculturalism shaping the latter part of the past century (see Hesse 2000). The idea of social cohesion has become particularly influential in the aftermath of the 2001 civic unrest in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, and the 2005 London bombings, with especially the former being widely interpreted as a result of a lack of cohesion within British society. The Cattle Report (2001), which resulted from an inquiry into the 2001 unrest, famously pointed to a growing segregation between different population groups and the 'parallel lives' of particular communities within the UK. This level of segregation was seen as having contributed to racial and religious tension and the radicalisation of certain members of these groups. In the wake of these incidents multiculturalism was pronounced 'dead' by prominent political figures such as David Cameron, mirroring developments in other European countries. Angela Merkel in 2010 for example similarly declared that multiculturalism had failed: 'Multikulti ist gescheitert!'²⁹ British Muslims in particular took centre stage in this context - when David Cameron pronounced multiculturalism 'dead', he stressed the failings of Muslim groups to 'respect basic British values'.³⁰ The Cattle Report and subsequent government policies consequently demanded stronger and more cohesive communities, based on a shared sense of belonging and attachment to place, shared values and strong civic participation.

²⁹ Der Spiegel: Integration - Merkel erklärt Multikulti für gescheitert: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/integration-merkel-erklaert-multikulti-fuer-gescheitert-a-723532.html> (01.06.2015)

³⁰ The Guardian: David Cameron sparks fury from critics who say attack on multiculturalism has boosted English Defence League, February 2011: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/feb/05/david-cameron-speech-criticised-edl> (02.08.2014)

The concept of integration has similarly shaped recent discourses on immigration, as a tool for arriving at a more 'cohesive' society, but also - in more critical approaches - increasingly as a way to ensure more equal opportunities for immigrants. As a way of measuring 'integration' recent years have seen the development of a range of markers of integration; the Scottish Government for example relies on a framework of integration developed by Ager and Strang (2008, 2010).³¹ This framework is based on a range of markers of integration, such as citizenship and rights, language and culture, social ties or access to services. The adoption of Ager and Strang's framework by the Scottish Government reflects an important shift in thinking about integration and the acknowledgement of a need for government led provisions to enable migrants to 'integrate', such as adequate housing or access to education and employment opportunities.

Yet despite these positive developments both integration as well as social cohesion are still often used in highly problematic ways that fail to take into consideration issues of power, and with a predominant focus on ethnic communities tend to ignore people's complex intersectional social identities and experiences of inclusion and exclusion in this context. To begin with, as Olwig argues, integration is by no means a neutral term:

(...) integration is not just an analytic term measuring levels of social incorporation according to pre-defined parameters of achievement within, for example, employment, housing and education. It has become an emic term denoting the ability to conform to social norms and cultural values defined in dominant discourse as basic to proper citizenship. 'Integration' therefore has become a powerful notion, designating who belongs and by implication who does not belong in society. (2011:180)

The term integration raises, as Olwig points out, important questions regarding culture, society and nation. When David Cameron asserts that certain groups of British Muslims have failed to adhere to 'British values', what exactly does he refer to? What counts as 'British' or 'Scottish' and who has the power to define these terms? Who decides what it means to be a part of a society? Aside from the unequally distributed power to define what terms such as 'Britishness' or 'Scottishness' stand for, notions of integration tend to imply a need for adaptation on behalf of immigrant groups. While integration has at times been portrayed as 'two-way process' (see for example Ager & Strang 2010), this is, as Anthias argues, 'more

³¹ The Scottish Government 2013: New Scots. Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities 2014-2017. Edinburgh (in collaboration with the Scottish Refugee Council and COSLA)

rhetorical than real' (2013:329). Cultural difference is still seen as counterproductive to integration (see Ehrkamp 2012), and for McPherson (2010) an assumption that others have to adapt to local norms has become common sense and as a 'doxa' (Bourdieu 1986) is almost impossible to critique.

Furthermore, as various scholars have pointed out, constructions of communities as based on shared values and a shared sense of identity and place are deeply problematic and brush over a variety of differences within social groups (see Amin 2002, Sennet 2002, Vertovec 2007). Communities are never based on complete identity, various axes of difference - such as religion, gender, age, ability, sexual orientation, ethnicity or nationality - interplay in complex ways and attempts to create 'coherent' communities are always based on the exclusion of certain people (see Sandercock 2003). Notions of homogenous communities influence both imaginations of 'host societies' - ideas of Britishness or Scottishness discussed above, as well as notions regarding ethnic, racialised or religious 'Others'. Through a predominant focus on ethnicity and religion discourses surrounding integration and social cohesion have thereby tended to lose sight of root causes underlying social 'segregation'. As Rotter suggests, "'integration" appears an ethnically loaded foil for what are essentially processes of participation applicable to *all* residents' (2010: 210, emphasis added). What is largely missing from these debates is the role poverty, social inequality, discrimination, institutional racism and differences in housing allocation as well as social capital play in contributing to 'segregated' communities (see Amin 2002, Phillips 2008). Whilst the above mentioned Cattle report to some extent acknowledged the significance of poverty and deprivation for processes of segregation, the focus of subsequent policies often lay on ethnic and religious communities and frequently constructed an image of ethnic and religious 'Others' as unwilling to integrate (see Pain & Askins 2011).

Lastly, terms such as social cohesion or integration hold little meaning for migrants themselves. Yet what lies at the heart of this study are the everyday experiences of young refugees living in Glasgow and I suggest that concepts of belonging and home provide a way to account for these experiences. The term belonging, as Mee and Wright suggest, 'resonates' (2009:774) with people.

While I see belonging as an analytical tool that adds vital nuances and additional insights to current discourses surrounding immigration in the UK, it is important to note that the term belonging has also been used in debates pertaining to social

cohesion and integration. Discourses of social cohesion in particular often rely on social capital theories of the American tradition (see for example Putnam 1995, 2000, Woolcock 1998), which depict cohesive communities as based on a shared sense of belonging, shared values and identity. This is, as I set out above, problematic in many ways and my own use of the concept of belonging differs greatly. As I will illustrate below, the concept of belonging this research is based on does not assume a single shared identity between members of a social group, but draws attention to the ways in which people's struggles to belong are influenced by multiple factors such as age, ability, gender, religion or racialisation (see Yuval Davis et al. 2005). It allows for an account of people's - not just migrants' - sense of attachment to other people and places as fluid and not fixed, whilst never being uncoupled from structural conditions and wider politics of belonging. In the following I will now move on to explore this in more detail and in doing so demonstrate why belonging provides a particularly valuable tool to analyse the experiences of young refugees living in Glasgow.

2.3 Adding an important perspective: The concept of belonging

Due to its open nature, the concept of belonging has, as Crowley (1999) asserts, increasingly gained popularity in recent years, and has been employed across a variety of different disciplines - from cultural studies and feminist theory (see for example Morley 2001, Carrillo Rowe 2004, Diprose 2008), to politics (see for example Crowley 1999, Castles & Davidson 2000, Favell & Geddes 1999), sociology (see for example Anthias 2006, 2008, Calhoun 2003, Yuval-Davis 2011) and of course - geography. Geographic inquiry has thereby explored the experiences of a variety of social groups - from documenting belonging in the context of queer identities (Gorman-Murray et al. 2008), Deaf identities (Valentine & Skelton 2007), to public housing tenants (Mee 2009) and young people (Alexander 2008). Most frequently, however, the concept has been employed in research in the context of migration and ethnicity (see for example Ehrkamp 2012, Ralph & Staeheli 2011, Valentine & Sponton 2009). While this extensive body of literature is not based on one single definition of belonging, scholars influenced by feminist and postcolonial theories share certain commonalities in their understanding of belonging that are central for my research. As I discuss below, research in this context acknowledges the importance of taking into consideration people's intersectional social identities, it recognises the multiplicity and fluidity of belonging, its deeply spatial, multi-local and

multi-scalar character, and draws attention to both political as well as emotional and embodied dimensions of belonging.

When the author of the letter quoted above suggests that Muslim refugees should flee to Muslim countries since these provide a greater degree of 'similarity', he perceives people as somewhat fixed through particular aspects of their identity. Critical scholarship employing the concept of belonging, however, assumes that who we are and where we belong is always in the making, fluid and subject to change; belonging and identity are recognised as *becoming* rather than *being* (Antonsich 2010). As Wood and Waite (2011) suggest, it is central to recognise belonging as a deeply affective act - we always long to belong (see also Probyn 1996). People therefore do not naturally belong to one particular group or 'community' or one particular 'home'-country, but their experiences of belonging are always emerging and in the making.

While belonging is thus not static and fixed, this does not mean that people are simply free to choose where and with whom they want to belong. Belonging is deeply shaped by people's multiple affiliations and positionings that play out differently in various spatial and social contexts (Anthias 2006, 2008). As Wood and Waite (2011) argue, past research has tended to predominantly focus on ethnic, national and religious identities, and in doing so has neglected the centrality of intersectionality for people's experiences of belonging. Returning to the letter quoted above, a shared religion, then does not necessarily indicate 'sameness', but only marks one of many different intersecting social identities shaping people's experiences of belonging (Yuval-Davis et al. 2005). Muslim refugees are not only 'Muslim', but are also women and men or somewhere outside this gender binary, able bodied or not, of different ethnicities and nationalities, part of different political groupings, of different ages and so on. I will return to this issue when taking a closer look at the politics of belonging and power relations shaping experiences of belonging below.

Moreover, belonging is acknowledged as deeply spatially situated and is thus, as Mee and Wright suggest, an 'inherently geographical concept' (2009:772). As indicated above, the way we experience belonging depends on particular spatial and social contexts. We can thereby, as Yuval-Davis et al. (2005) make clear, feel a sense of belonging to 'a range of spaces, places, locales and identities' (528) - we are not simply rooted in one single place but experience 'multi-local ties of political and cultural belonging' (Ahmed et al. 2003:3). Belonging is hence not 'bounded by

the local' (Rose 1995:5) but encompasses attachments to places and 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) that are not in physical proximity. Experiences of belonging not only refer to different locales, but are also multi-scalar - reaching from the home, to one's neighbourhood, the city, the nation-state and transnational and cosmopolitan forms of belonging. Feminist geographers in this context have drawn particular attention to the ways in which different spaces and scales of belonging relate to and influence each other. Belonging on a national level for example stands in a complex interplay with belonging experienced on a local level or embodied experiences of belonging (see for example Ehrkamp 2006, Staeheli & Nagel 2006, Wood & Wait 2011).

The recognition of a feeling of belonging as relating to multiple interrelated places and scales is particularly important in the context of migration, as Blunt and Dowling suggest: 'For many transnational migrants, material and imaginative geographies of home are both multiple and ambiguous, revealing attachments of more than one place and the ways in which home is shaped by memories as well as everyday life in the present' (2006:202). The notion of home as comprising different places allows for us to recognise that migrants do not simply leave behind their 'home'-countries, but continuously re-build a sense of being 'at home' - both relating to the places they have left behind, as well as the places in which they arrive. Home for migrants encompasses both 'roots and routes' (see Brah 1996, Clifford 1994) and their sense of belonging consists of 'uprootings' and 'regroundings' (Ahmed et al. 2003) - or, in the words of Fortier (1999), multilayered processes of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation'. Belonging is thereby not only relational in terms of connections between spaces simultaneously experienced as 'homely', but also in terms of time - reaching backwards to spaces of past belongings and forwards to imaginations of future belongings. In the context of research focusing on migrants' sense of home, scholars have repeatedly stressed the importance of memories of past homes for a sense of homeliness in the present (see Brah 1996). Fortier for example speaks of the creative process of memory work, with memories of the past 'adding substance to the immediate lived experience of the present' (1999:46). In a similar vein Blunt (2003) coined the term 'productive nostalgia', referring to practices of 'homing' that are influenced by past belongings yet contribute to present home making.

The discussion so far has already illustrated some of the complexities regarding people's experiences of belonging. In an attempt to disentangle some of the issues at

stake a number of scholars have suggested drawing an analytical distinction between emotional and affective elements of belonging and notions of power and the politics of belonging (see Carillo Rowe 2004, Fenster 2005, Yuval-Davis et al. 2006). The geographer Antonsich, one of the few geographers attempting to develop a framework for analysing belonging, for example differentiates between 'belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)' (2010:645). In the remainder of the chapter I will now turn to consider each of these dimensions of belonging in more detail. While past research has tended to focus on the politics of belonging to a greater extent, it is central to note that these two elements of belonging are by no means separable. I thus conclude this chapter by suggesting that the everyday provides a valuable lens through which to explore the complex interplay and tension between the politics of belonging and an affective and embodied sense of being 'at home' in young refugees' lives.

2.4 The politics of belonging

In this subsection I take a closer look at the politics of belonging; while considering different interrelated scales of belonging, the focus lies in particular on belonging on a national scale, since this provides an important context for the experiences of young refugees explored in this thesis. As alluded to above, Antonsich describes the politics of belonging as the 'discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion' (2010:645). Crowley further famously defines the politics of belonging as 'the dirty work of boundary maintenance' (1999:30). As both of these definitions indicate, the politics of belonging are inseparable from questions of identity and as a result previous scholarship has tended to employ belonging as almost synonymously with identity politics. While, as I will explore below, there is more to a sense of belonging than processes of identification, the question 'Who am I' does shape where and with whom one is able to claim belonging (see Antonsich 2010). As discussed above, the multiple 'translocational positionings' (Anthias 2006, 2008) of a person influence experiences of belonging in various spatial and social contexts. The politics of belonging are, as Antonsich's definition above has shown, based on negotiations with others - whether one is able to belong depends on the recognition of a claim to belonging by others. Wood and Waite suggest that an awareness of belonging thereby generally 'occur(s) in those spaces and spheres of life where familiar

certainties are disrupted or challenged, where belonging is unsettled or perceived to be under threat' (2011:201). Belonging hence often only becomes visible as a result of its absence and experiences of exclusion (see also Probyn 1996).

While Antonsich (2010) defines the politics of belonging as a 'discursive resource' and belonging is indeed negotiated through narratives and discourses, it is important to note that the politics of belonging are also inscribed in and expressed through bodies and space. Bell in the context of the former speaks of the 'performativity of belonging', which the scholar suggests, 'cites the norms that constitute or make present the "community" or group as such' (1999:3). Bell is influenced by Butler's (1998, 2007 [1990]) theories of performativity and the notion that (gender) identities are not natural givens, but are constantly (re-)produced through our bodily performances and corporeal practices. Similarly belonging is (re-)produced through our bodies. Fenster (2005) for example illustrates the performative nature of belonging when describing the ways in which certain clothing styles in a neighbourhood of orthodox Jews in Jerusalem lead to a sense of exclusion for those not adhering to these norms.

In addition to the performative nature of belonging, space plays a similarly central role for the politics of belonging (see Massey & Jess 1995) - although according to Gilmartin (2008) this has received too little attention in studies of belonging and identity. As Mee and Wright (2009) assert, belonging is deeply inscribed into landscapes and places. Geographers exploring experiences of belonging in the context of migration can thereby hark back to previous contributions within geography engaging with notions of power and space. Sibley (1995) for example has drawn attention to the significance of space for an understanding of the politics of inclusion and exclusion, and in a similar vein Cresswell (1996) has argued that hierarchies and social relations are both expressed as well as experienced through space. According to the latter, normative notions regarding who belongs or does not belong to certain places often go unnoticed until something happens that transgresses these norms. This for example becomes apparent in Ehrkamp's (2012) discussion of the ban of minarets in Switzerland, with minarets being seen as antithetical to and incommensurate with local 'Swiss' culture.

2.4.1 Scales of belonging: (Trans-)nationality and citizenship

Having discussed some of the central considerations regarding the politics of belonging, in this subsection I will now explore politics of belonging on a national

scale, in doing so elaborating on some of the issues touched upon above in more detail. While focusing on national belonging, it is important to note that different scales of belonging are by no means separable from each other and are interconnected in complex ways (Morley 2001). Feminist geographers in particular have drawn attention to the ways in which different spaces and scales of belonging relate to each other (see for example Ehrkamp 2006, Nagel and Staeheli 2006, Wood and Waite 2011). More local forms of belonging, such as attachments to one's abode, the neighbourhood and local communities are connected to the wider social context; they are in a complex interplay with national, transnational and global experiences of belonging, or even belonging in the context of cyberspace, as Blunt and Dowling (2006) point out. Massey famously argued that places are never bounded:

Instead of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a larger proportion of those relations, experiences and understanding are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street or a region or even a continent. (1991:27)

While researchers have engaged with belonging on a variety of different (intersecting) scales, the nation state and national belonging have featured most prominently in research on belonging. A large proportion of research carried out in this field has explored national belonging through the lens of citizenship, importantly highlighting the differential access of people to formalised national belonging (see for example Desforges et al. 2005, Ehrkamp & Leitner 2006, Yuval-Davis et al. 2005). Castles and Davidson for example allude to both the 'fluid' (2000:103) as well as graded nature of citizenship, illustrating how those who have the legal right to remain in a country do not automatically all enjoy the same rights. The authors differentiate citizens from both 'denizens', a term derived from Hammar (1990), which refers to people who have certain legal and permanent resident statuses without being citizens, as well as 'margizens', a term coined by Martiniello (1994) describing people at the very margins of society who have some protection available to them, yet of very precarious nature. Similarly Staeheli et al. (2012) illustrate the complexity and graded nature of formalised belonging, when showing how undocumented migrants in the US, while not having citizenship status, in certain ways have the rights and responsibilities of 'citizens' - for example when having access to school education or having to pay taxes.

Moreover researchers have argued that even if people are afforded full citizenship status this does not mean that they all 'belong' in the same way. Yuval-Davis et al. in this context allude to the 'gendered, classed and cultural nature of citizenship' (2006:526) and similarly Fenster suggests that 'citizenship definitions are identity-related in that they dictate which identities are included within the hegemonic community and which are excluded' (2005:245). Recent years have seen a growing interest in geography in how citizenship is experienced and lived (see for example Desforges et al. 2005, Ehrkamp & Leitner 2006, Staeheli & Nagel 2006). Staeheli et al. (2012) thereby coined the term 'ordinary citizenship' in order to refer to the ways in which citizenship shapes and is normalised through everyday life. Research focusing on the lived experience and negotiations of citizenship have not only concentrated on the experiences of migrants, but also other social groups, such as Deaf people (Valentine & Skelton 2007) or young people (Alexander 2008).

In addition to politics of belonging based on formal recognition, national processes of exclusion and inclusion are shaped by hegemonic discourses of belonging, which - as Yuval-Davis et al. argue - 'produce a "natural" community of people and function as exclusionary borders of otherness from which we all simultaneously exist inside and outside of' (2006:528). Nation states are often constructed as linguistically, 'racially' and culturally homogenous and today's increasingly internally diverse nations are opposed to an imagined past in which territory, people and culture still coincided - an ideal that has never existed (see Massey 1991, 1992).

While 'race', as Alexander and Knowles (2005) assert, is an essentially unstable and open category (see also Anderson & Taylor 2005), it remains a powerful marker of national belonging, as for example becomes apparent in persistent notions of Englishness or Scottishness as intrinsically tied to Whiteness (Gilroy 2002 [1987], Penrose & Howard 2008). In a similar way nations are often constructed as culturally and linguistically homogenous and the notion of culture underlying this conception is static, immutable and fixed, ignoring the constant change and exchange marking cultural identities. Culture here is depicted as the 'property' of a certain group and as scholars have shown, is more and more used akin to 'race', showing the 'Other' as unable to change and as caught up in a 'web of culture' (Wikan 1999:58, see also Brah et al. 1999). In addition notions of culture have become increasingly intertwined with religion, with the Muslim 'Other' now frequently representing a central antithesis in the construction of national belonging in the UK (Modood 2003, Hopkins 2004,

2007). In particular global events such as 9/11, the London bombings, but also the rise of global terrorist networks such as ISIS fuel fears and hostility towards Muslim 'Others' - with Islam being seen as incommensurate with the values of 'Western' democracies, as Ehrkamp (2012) suggests. Religious identities are thereby, much like cultural traits described above, often essentialised. Amin in reference to Hacking (2005) in this context suggests 'that phenotypical racism relies on sensory - especially visual - signals which, when indexed as proxies of race, spark distinctive judgements of people whose differences are considered essential to their identity' (2010:8). Religious markers of belonging such as beards or prayer caps have thus become increasingly racialised.

These imaginations of 'racial', cultural and religious 'Others' come together in the figure the 'immigrant', 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee'. As Brah (1996) suggests, immigration status has become more and more central in marking national belonging, a trend that is reflected in the increasing anti-immigration rhetoric displayed by the main political parties in the UK. As Yuval-Davis et al. (2005) show, tighter immigration control is thereby legitimised in reference to social cohesion and an attempt to keep a seemingly compromising religious, ethnic and cultural diversity at bay. At the 2015 annual conference of the Conservative Party the Home Secretary, Theresa May, again emphasised the need for stricter immigration control in her speech, warning that 'mass migration' would threaten social cohesion in the UK.³²

While hegemonic discourses of belonging may suggest internal homogeneity, societies, cultures and nations always comprise 'difference' and are always fluid and becoming rather than being. Theorisations of *diaspora* and *hybridity* have provided important contributions to the problematisation of essentialising conceptualisations of nation states and ethnic groups (see for example Bhabha 1990, Gilroy 1997). Literatures in this context have shown how cultures and people on the move change over the course of time and also change the societies in which they arrive. Similarly an important critique of national belonging as rooted in one particular place and 'home'-country emerged from scholarship focusing on people's transnational ties and attachments. *Transnationalism* is thereby described by Hannerz as 'a matter of increasing long-distance interconnectedness, at least across national boundaries, preferably between continents as well' (1996:17). We live in a time in which people

³² The Guardian: Theresa May to tell Tory conference that migration threatens UK cohesion. Online: (15.10.2015)

more and more often interact and travel across national borders. Familial and friendship networks as well as other communities of belonging can span several different countries, and new technologies enable us to communicate across the world. Some have thus suggested that we now live in a post-national world, united by international human rights discourses and international trade (see for example Soysal 1994).

Yet while these global changes have implications for people's experiences of belonging and their identities, the 'destabilising effects of globalisation', as Morley stresses, are accompanied by the 'simultaneous process of "reterritorialization" (...) where borders and boundaries of various sorts are becoming more, rather than less, strongly marked' (2001:427). Gilmartin similarly argues:

Despite claims of the demise of the nation-state as a consequence of globalization, state responses to the question of belonging illustrate its ongoing power and reach. While states may have lost ground to transnational capital, migrant bodies represent a significant site for their articulation of national identity. In addition to the legal and symbolic form of citizenship, states are also engaged in material and legislative border enforcement, and in the creation of hierarchies of immigrants with differential rights and entitlements. (2008:1844)

National borders are still incredibly powerful entities, defining who can migrate and who has to stay put, who can belong and who is excluded (see Morley 2001, Crowley 1999, Ahmed et al. 2003). The boundaries sealing off the 'fortress Europe' have become increasingly difficult for migrants to overcome and current policies aim at further closing down borders and 'protecting' nation states, as hundreds of refugees dying at sea every year bear witness to.³³ At the time of writing these lines, in summer 2015, border controls within Europe have been partly re-established and Schengen has been temporarily suspended in parts of Germany and Austria, further mirroring these developments. We thus live in a time that is simultaneously marked by the interconnectedness of people across borders as well as the re-affirmation of (state) boundaries.

³³ See for example: The Guardian, October 2013
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/04/lampedusa-boat-sinking-italy-migrants>
The Guardian, June 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/02/europe-refugee-crisis-un-africa-processing-centres>

2.5 Emotional and affective geographies of belonging

So far I have outlined some of the main considerations concerning the politics of belonging - yet these are, as I alluded to above, never detached from people's emotional and affective lives. Returning to the letter I quoted in the beginning of this chapter it becomes apparent how negotiations of belonging are influenced by anxieties and fears of the 'Other'; the author of the letter conveys a deep sense of confusion and anxiety in the light of the imminent arrival of Muslim and ethnic 'Others'. At the same time, as Horton and Kraftl suggest, 'emotional responses to "others" are, to an important extent, anticipated and scripted by contemporary hegemonic popular norms and discourses' (2013:233). The fear and anxiety the author of the letter feels are thus also fuelled by hegemonic discourses of belonging that mark racialised, religious and ethnic 'Others' as essentially different and potentially dangerous.

While Yuval Davis et al. suggest that belonging lies 'where the sociology of emotions interfaces with the sociology of power' (2006:528) and emotions have been acknowledged as central to experiences of belonging, research to date has, as Antonsich (2010) points out, often tended to focus on the politics of belonging. Wood and Waite similarly assert: 'It is because of our belief that the power of belonging lies, somehow, in the emotional (and emotive) qualities of its attachments and affiliations that we think the emotional dimension of belonging demands further thought and investigation' (2011:201). In this section I therefore take a closer look at this dimension of belonging - in particular focusing on feelings of 'homeliness', which Antonsich (2010) sets apart from the politics of belonging. I begin by discussing recent debates surrounding notions of affect and emotion within geography, to then consider the embodied and emotional experience of being 'at home' in more detail.

2.5.1 Geographies of emotion and affect - A brief review

While, with some notable exceptions, issues of affect and emotion were for a long time largely absent from mainstream geography, this has changed significantly over the past decade (see Bondi 2005, Sharp 2009, Parr 2014). Today an extensive body of literature and the existence of journals such as 'Emotion, space and society' evidence the importance afforded to emotions and affect within the discipline. It is now widely recognised that 'emotions matter', as Bondi and Davidson assert:

Emotions are, without doubt, an intractable if intangible aspect of all of our everyday lives. They are embodied and mindful phenomena that partially shape, and are shaped by our interactions with the people, places and politics

that make up our unique, personal geographies. Clearly, our emotions matter. (2004:373)

As Horton and Kraftl (2013) suggest, emotions and affects are fundamental to all our experiences - including our experience of space - and should thus take centre stage in geographic inquiries. Yet while many geographers now agree that our emotional lives 'matter' (see also Anderson 2014, Davidson & Milligan 2004, Pile 2010), topics researched and approaches taken in this field of interest differ greatly. In this subsection I therefore consider emergent strands within geography dealing with issues of emotion, feeling and affect, as well as taking into consideration central debates accompanying these development.

As indicated above, an interest in emotion, feeling and affect is not entirely new to geography. Humanistic geographers of the 1970s and 1980s already placed emotions and feelings at the centre of their inquiries (Parr 2014). While their contributions were important insofar as they drew attention to people's emotional lives, humanistic geographers also faced criticism for holding on to notions of a knowing subject behind emotional expressions (Bondi 2005). A further major impetus for today's pervasiveness of emotions in geographical inquiry emerged from feminist geographies (Sharp 2009), and in particular, as Horton and Kraftl (2013) point out, strands within feminist geography focusing on disability, illness and mental health. Developing from a critique of the silencing of emotions in a masculinist orientated academia, feminist scholars pointed to the importance of emotions in shaping subjects and social relationships, but also as a key element of the research process itself (see Anderson & Smith 2001, Parr 2014, Widdowfield 2000). Feminist geographers made central contributions to the field by acknowledging emotions as socially shaped and deeply relational and by recognising the 'incoherences, permeabilities, opaquenesses and specificities' (Pile 2010:7) of human subjectivities.

The emergence of scholarship focusing on affect rather than emotions and feelings represented a further central development in the field - although it is important to note that these terms have at times been used interchangeably (Bondi 2005). Impetus here has in particular come from so-called 'non-representational theories', which are not 'concerned with representation and meaning, but with the performative "presentations", "showings" and "manifestations" of everyday life' (Thrift 1997: 126-27). Influenced by a variety of authors, such as Brian Massumi, Gilles Deleuze or Michel de Certeau, geographers of affect have stressed the importance of attending

to human life *as it happens* (Anderson 2014), and everyday movements of bodies that are not mediated through thought and reflexive engagement. While there is no one definition of affect (see Thrift 2004), the concept has been set apart from notions of emotions and feelings. Thien (2005) identifies affect as the 'how' of emotions, and Anderson defines it as the 'transpersonal capacity which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect' (2006:735). The latter differentiates between affects, emotions and feelings, seeing these as parts of a continuum of human experience. While affect for Anderson is somewhat pre-conscious or outside consciousness, these find their expression through feelings in the body and are made sense of and retrospectively named as emotions. The main difference for the author is that affects are not reducible to the individual, but exist *in-between* - in-between people, objects and spaces. An important aspect furthermore is the perception of affect as representing an excess - a multitude of possibilities. In perceiving human beings as always becoming, non-representational theories see potential for constant change; multiple possibilities - the 'virtual' - thereby find their expression in particular actualisations (see Thrift & Drewsbury 2000).

While geographies of affect comprise, much like geographies of emotion, a whole range of approaches and theories, these different bodies of literature have frequently been constructed in opposition to each other, and in the following I want to briefly consider some of the central debates accompanying these developments. First of all emotional geographies have been criticised for not being able to capture the complexity of (human) experience. Wetherell for example suggests that inquiries into emotion 'do not adequately describe the range and variety of affective performances, affective scenes and affective events' (2012:3) shaping people's lives. Furthermore geographies of emotion have faced criticism for simplifying notions of human subjectivity. While approaches within feminist geographies have by no means depicted human subjectivity as static and coherent, this for some has not gone far enough. Emotional geographies, it has been pointed out, concentrate too much on emotions and cognitive ways of making sense of the world, and thus, as Pile suggests, still often assume the possibility of a knowing subject:

For emotional geography, the body is a site of feeling and experience. These experiences and feelings are socially embedded, but they are localisable in the body, and relationships between bodies. The body, though embedded in social relations, is ultimately personal: it is the location of the psychological subject. Emotions may take on social forms of expression, but behind these forms of expression lie genuine personal experiences - that are seeking representation. (2009:11)

While Bondi and Davidson (2011) oppose Pile by arguing that emotional geographies have by no means conceptualised emotions as the reflection of a 'true inner self', non-representational theories have provided a way of moving beyond the question of subjectivity by focusing on the trans-human and the in-between. However, affective geographies have also become the subject of criticism. To begin with the matter of how affect - the 'non-representational' - can be accounted for or be 're-presented', has been subject of a lively debate in recent years. Pile for example polemically accuses 'affectual geographers' of claiming to move beyond the representational, whilst still relying on the language of emotions and feelings:

Though affect cannot be presented or *represented*, affectual geographers, drawing upon non-representational theory, constantly evoke moments when affect is evident: be these smiles, laughter, jokes or hope, anger, shame and so on. Apologies for being blunt, but this is a straightforward hypocrisy. It continually does what it says cannot be done: it cannot help but re-present and represent *affect* - and *in language*. (2009:17, original emphasis)

Furthermore the writing of scholars focusing on affect has been criticised for being too abstract and removed and, as Bondi suggests, 'ironically, disembodied' (2005:438). Thien (2005) further sees a continuation of a 'rational' and masculinist social science in the focus on the trans-human and the move away from emotional 'feminised' experiences. In doing so, theories of affect for Thien re-create boundaries of the public and the personal, the emotional and reason. Bondi in reference to Nash (2000) similarly alludes to the dangers of reifying these boundaries, when commenting that 'such appeals risk reinforcing rather than deconstructing a binary opposition between the sensual and the intellectual, thereby downplaying the thoughtfulness of non-verbal practices' (2005:437).

A further important criticism of geographies of affect concerns the potential oversight of power relations underlying people's capacity to affect and be affected (see Bondi 2005, Sharp 2009, Thien 2005). Nash for example locates the danger to retreat from feminist politics, asking: 'What happens to the project of 'giving voice' to the marginalized, if the concern is with what cannot be expressed rather than what can?' (2000:662). Tolia-Kelly (2006) further alludes to the 'Westnocentric' perspective theories of emotion and affect often take, in particular pointing to the neglect of different intersectional identities shaping encounters and the movement of bodies within geographies of affect. The scholar, however, also reminds geographers of emotion to continually engage in a 'historical contextualizing towards a non-universalist understanding of emotional registers' (216, see also Parr 2014).

While emotional and affective geographies have frequently been constructed in opposition to each other, there are also important commonalities shared between these approaches, and - as I suggest below - they can both provide useful insights in the context of this research project. Firstly, while taking different angles, scholars within both affective as well as emotional geographies acknowledge the deeply relational nature of affect and emotion. Relations are seen to reach 'sideways' - in-between people and objects, as well as 'forwards and backwards' - including histories of people and places, previous experiences and affects, as Ahmed (2004) suggests (see also Anderson 2014, Anderson & Harrison 2014, Bondi 2005). Both approaches furthermore account for the centrality of space for emotion and affect (see Smith et al. 2009, Parr 2014, Sharp 2009). Davidson and Milligan for example suggest that '(w)e can, perhaps, usefully speak of an emotio-spatial hermeneutic: emotions are understandable - 'sensible' - only in the context of particular places. Likewise, place must be *felt* to make sense' (2004:524). Furthermore scholars within both approaches acknowledge the importance of the body and embodiment as a process (see for example Thrift 1997), and the body as a central site of meaning-making beyond conscious thought. Lastly Pile (2009) points to similarities in methodological approaches - the predominance of ethnography, as well as the privileging of proximity and intimacy in the research encounter.

In addition to these commonalities, scholars have argued that both approaches hold valuable contributions that can complement each other. McCormack for example suggests that theories of affect are

not intended to denigrate thinking. Rather they seek to supplement, or indeed extend, the field in which thinking emerges and is eventually registered by making more of those affective capacities and processes that slip through the attentional filter of representationalism. (2003:495-6)

Similarly Bondi and Davidson welcome the fluidity and openness of the field, cautioning not to demarcate clear boundaries between different approaches: '(W)e strongly contest the primacy of any single theoretical or philosophical tradition and rather welcome the diverse range of borrowings that inform contributions to this (and closely related) fields of research' (2011:596). Wetherell (2012) also tries to bring together insights from theories of affect and emotion. For her the demarcation of the discursive and socially constructed from affective experiences is little useful. Affect, Wetherell argues, involves both 'sense and sensibility' and affects and emotions

cannot simply be separated neatly into a 'layer-cake' of different states of consciousness.

I share the view that geographies of affect and geographies of emotion are not mutually exclusive fields of interest, and for this research project it proved highly useful to draw on contributions made within both of these approaches. In this thesis I can thus document both processes of sense making and experiences of belonging young refugees reflected upon, as well as embodied, affective and less conscious dimensions of belonging. While not assuming a 'knowing subject' behind emotional expressions, it was a central aim of this research project to enable young people to choose and present their own narratives of home. At the same time, whilst being wary of the often abstract and somewhat detached nature of much writing emerging within geographies of affect, I aimed at capturing some of the more intangible aspects of belonging. In this thesis I therefore also attend to experiences of belonging *as they happen*, exploring belonging as a deeply corporeal and affective experience and as operating in-between bodies and spaces. Returning to criticism of the often apolitical nature of geographies of affect discussed above, in this thesis embodied and affective experiences of belonging are shown to never be uncoupled from wider politics of belonging. Before considering this in more detail by looking at the concept of the everyday, I want to first focus on feelings and emotions underlying a sense of being 'at home', since these play a central role in this thesis.

2.5.2 A sense of being 'at home'

As I noted above, Antonsich sets apart the politics of belonging from belonging as 'a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness)' (2010:645) and in this section I focus in particular on the emotional and affective experience of being 'at home'. In his attempt to conceptualise a sense of home, Antonsich identifies five factors that enable a feeling of homeliness and 'might lead an individual to lead a life that is meaningful' (ibid 649).³⁴ By focusing on factors impacting on a feeling of belonging Antonsich, however, does little to conceptualise the feeling of home and belonging itself. I therefore found contributions by authors who engaged closely with issues of home in the context of migration more useful - namely scholars such as Fenster (2005), Hage (1997) or Noble (2005). Furthermore, while Antonsich defines an emotional sense of belonging predominantly in relation to

³⁴ For the scholar these are auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal factors.

place, in this section I also add a relational perspective to this definition, discussing an emotional and subjective sense of belonging *with others*.

The anthropologist Hage (1997) provides a particularly useful framework for conceptualising a sense of being 'at home'. For the scholar 'home' consists of four 'affective building blocks' - a sense of security and safety, a sense of possibility, a sense of familiarity, and sense of community (ibid 102-3). For Hage a sense of security comprises both the absence of danger, as well as a sense of empowerment and agency. In order to develop a sense of belonging, a sense of safety has to be balanced with feelings of freedom and possibility; making use of a highly gendered analogy, the scholar suggests:

Most theorisations of the home emphasise it as a shelter but, like mother's lap it is only shelter that we use to rest and then spring into action, and then return to spring into action again. A space which is only a shelter becomes, like the lap of the possessive mother, a claustrophobic space and loses its homely character. (ibid 104)

Noble (2005), who has also engaged with migrants' experiences of home, similar to Hage stresses the importance of safety for migrants' perceptions of home. For Noble the term 'comfort', which was frequently used by participants of his study, represents the vernacular of Giddens' (1991) concept of 'ontological security':

The themes which underlay the interviewees' sense of comfort are the same as the key elements of what Giddens talks about as 'ontological security', or the confidence or trust we have in the world around us, both in terms of the things and the people with which we share our lives, and hence which provide stability and a continuity to our identity. (2005:113)

While Antonsich lists certain factors that impact on a feeling of belonging, and that can be seen to also affect a sense security - for example legal or economic factors - his concept misses an important everyday element contained in both Noble's and Hage's approaches. The term 'comfort' as used by Noble brings together two of Hage's affective building blocks of home - a feeling of being 'comfortable' emerges from both a sense of safety discussed above, as well as a feeling of familiarity with one's surroundings. Hage sees familiarity as connected to having the 'maximal practical know-how' (1997:103) - the habitual knowledge of one's spatial and social environment that is not necessarily based on cognitive understanding (see Nash 2000). Both Noble's as well as Hage's theories of home as comprising feelings of familiarity, safety and comfort are highly useful in accounting for the embodied, emotional and often un-reflected dimension of belonging.

Whilst overall providing a very useful framework for thinking about affective experiences of belonging, Hage's final building block of home deserves closer scrutiny. Hage considers relationships as key to enabling a sense of being 'at home'. For him this is expressed in a sense of community, a 'community' in which one 'possesses maximal communicative power' (ibid 102) and that is based on 'a feeling of shared symbolic forms, shared morality, shared values and most importantly perhaps, shared language' (ibid 103). Furthermore 'community' for Hage refers to the existence of others that can be 'morally relied on for help' (ibid 102). While Antonsich speaks more vaguely of 'relational factors' as one of five factors impacting on feelings of belonging, he distinguishes between weak and strong social ties and in reference to Baumeister and Leary (1995) concludes that the former would presumably 'not be sufficient to generate a sense of connectedness to others on which belonging relies' (2010:648). While I agree that relationships and a sense of community play a central role for a feeling of being 'at home', I am critical of both Hage's homogenising depiction of 'communities' as based on shared values and culture, as well as Antonsich's dismissal of weak ties, which in the absence of strong ties, as I show in this thesis, often play a central role for young refugees' sense of being 'at home'.

Both Hage and Antonsich are sceptical about communities that are not based on a shared sense of identity. Antonsich concludes his paper by posing the open question whether communities 'without' identity are possible. Yet taking seriously the claim that feelings of being 'at home' are not entirely dictated by the politics of belonging and are also embodied and to some extent unconscious, one has to recognise that a sense of belonging to a 'community' is not reducible to shared identity. Scholars employing the concept of belonging have seldom engaged with experiences of belonging that are not related to processes of identification, yet some have tried to somewhat loosen the thread tying belonging to notions of identity. The feminist scholar Carrillo Rowe (2005) for example identifies three elements of belonging - an affective component, relations of power and accountability. In reference to Probyn (1996) she sees the concept of belonging as a 'mode of affective community-making' as a way to perceive subjectivity 'to the left of identity' (ibid 26). Similarly Diprose acknowledges the important affective dimension of belonging with others, when asserting:

What characterizes this relation between bodies (and what cannot be assimilated or known in any terms) is a directional, affective leaning-toward

(the “longing” of belonging) or, in Jean-Luc Nancy’s terms, an “unidentifiable” inclination (“clinamen”) toward others and place. (2008:46)

Diprose suggests to think of community as based on ‘an open sense of belonging together to places, (as) prereflective and (...) built and undone through affective bodies’ (36). Both Diprose and Carrillo-Rowe therefore see belonging not as fixed, but as potentially open, deeply marked by a longing to be other, a longing to belong. While these concepts are important and inform my thinking in this thesis, they still connect notions of belonging to identity, even if only ‘to the left of identity’. I thus suggest that utilising important insights gained within geographies of affect can enable a more nuanced understanding of experiences of belonging; affording attention to the lived experience of being with others can render visible embodied and affective experiences of belonging that are not tied to notions of shared identity. This enables an account of a sense of belonging as emerging in-between people in particular moments and - as I discuss in the final part of this chapter - on the basis of particular embodied practices.

In sum in this subsection I have explored feelings of being ‘at home’, thereby in particular referring to Hage (1997) who speaks of four affective building blocks of home - namely a sense of security, familiarity, possibility and community. These affective building blocks comprise feelings reflected upon and named, as represented by the term ‘comfort’ used by participants’ of Noble’s (2005) research, but also allude to less conscious, embodied and affective dimensions of belonging. Hage for example highlights the importance of ‘habitual knowledge’ in creating a sense of familiarity and homeliness, the knowledge of unspoken rules of one’s social environment for example, or the deeply corporeal knowledge of how to negotiate one’s spatial surroundings. In the final part of this chapter I will now continue these explorations by focusing on the everyday as a key concept guiding this research project.

2.6 The everyday: At the intersection of a politics of belonging and a feeling of being ‘at home’

In the preceding sections I have considered both the politics of belonging as well as the emotionality of belonging and in particular feelings of being ‘at home’. While these two dimensions of belonging have been explored in separate parts of the chapter, they are by no means independent from each other. As indicated above, Antonsich asserts that inquiries into belonging would ‘benefit from a perspective that

aims to map belonging at the intersection of these two ongoing dynamics' (2010:653). I suggest that this becomes possible by exploring belonging through the lens of the everyday. To begin with, as Horton and Kraftl point out, 'relationships between societal structures and individuals' biographies are enmeshed in, and happen through, everyday spaces, lives and events' (2013:190). A focus on the everyday enables an account of the daily effects of wider politics of belonging, showing how imaginations of belonging to a national 'community' impact on young refugees' everyday lives, as well as how (a lack of) formalised belonging is experienced through the everyday (see Staeheli et al. 2012). At the same time this focus renders visible the ways in which young people create belongings in their everyday lives in tension with these circumstances. As I discuss below, the everyday - while also potentially serving conservative ends - holds the potential for creativity and transformation; seemingly ordinary everyday practices - such as walking or cooking - can provide a way to exert agency within limiting structural conditions and can carry important political dimensions. In discussing these issues, this section is divided into two parts; I begin by providing a short overview of the development of the concept within geography, thereby also considering important influences from other disciplines. In the second part of the section I take a closer look at everyday practices, which in this thesis are shown to play a central role in the lives of young refugees trying to (re-)create a sense of being 'at home'.

2.6.1 Considering the everyday

In this first part I briefly explore the concept of the everyday. This is important since, as Holloway and Hubbard (2001) suggest, geographers have often used the term in a commonsensical way and there is no one definition of what 'the everyday' refers to (see also Clayton 2013). While inquiries into everyday spaces and practices today are central to geography, this represents a relatively recent development within the discipline. As Horton and Kraftl (2013) assert, for a long time the focus of research has tended to lie on the extraordinary rather than the ordinary, unusual events and places rather than repetitive daily activities and quotidian spaces. Yet today notions of what is considered as worthy of geographic inquiry have changed significantly. As Richardson (2013) points out, an important impetus for this shift in thinking has come from geography's cultural turn in the 1990s, as well as the emotional turn (Bondi et al. 2005) discussed above. There is now a growing awareness within geography of the importance of quotidian spaces, routines and practices, as well as the embodied

nature of human experience and the centrality of emotions and affect in shaping human relationships and lives (see Horton & Kraftl 2013).

Considering that geography has a relatively recent history of engaging with the everyday - although there are notable exceptions, as the discussion of geographies of emotion and affect above has shown - geographers have taken inspiration from various other disciplines, such as anthropology, philosophy or sociology, and a diverse range of theoretical approaches. Gardiner (2000) in particular points to the importance of ethnomethodology, phenomenology, as well as cultural and postmodern studies for inquiries into the everyday; central scholars in this context for example are Pierre Bourdieu, Michel de Certeau, Harold Garfinkel, Irving Goffman or Henri Lefebvre. It lies far beyond the scope of this chapter to review this varied and large body of literature, yet in the following I want to briefly consider a central debate shaping explorations of the everyday - namely the debate concerning the nature of the everyday as either limiting and restricting in its ordinariness and repetitiveness, or as potentially liberating and as enabling creativity and resistance. While this distinction simplifies complex scholarly traditions and most authors can be located somewhere along the line of a continuum of different approaches, one can detect certain tendencies within existing scholarship (Highmore 2002). In order to illustrate this further I want to briefly consider three different approaches to this issue.

First of all, an important author influencing studies and debates surrounding the everyday is, as indicated above, the French philosopher and sociologist Lefebvre (1947, 1961, 1981). Lefebvre was central in drawing attention not only to representations of the everyday, but also to the everyday *as it happens* and elements of quotidian life that often go unnoticed. However, for Lefebvre everyday life in its repetitiveness and ordinariness is largely restrictive and opposed to modernity and progress (Hemmings et al. 2002). There is a gendered dimension to Lefebvre's argument, insofar as the scholar depicts women as more closely identified with the everyday - as both representatives as well as victims of the quotidian (Bennett and Watson 2002). This has been strongly criticised by feminist scholars; Felski (1999-2000) for example argues that this view ignores that the quotidian and everyday is an essential part of everyone's - not only women's - lives.

Again Bourdieu (1990 [1980]) shows the habitual as deeply constitutive for our everyday experiences. Bourdieu's concept of the habitus refers to the embodied history, which produces congruency within groups based not necessarily on explicit

rules, but internalised 'common sense' ideas about reasonable behaviour. As Noble and Watkins suggest, habitus is 'a kind of mastery of the implicit principles of the social world' (2003:522). Habitus is thereby tied to notions power and structural inequalities, often reproducing these in unconscious ways. While Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus is not entirely deterministic of people's behaviour, it does form the basis for the predictability and regularity of social life (Pink 2012).

Lastly de Certeau (2011 [1984]) argues against over-deterministic views of systems shaping our lives, depicting everyday practices in a very different light. To begin with, the scholar differentiates between tactical and strategic agency. The latter for de Certeau is connected to particular locations and environments, which are owned by powerful subjects and serve as a basis for their relationships with others. The former, while being based in environments provided by those in power and thus coming from a location of relative powerlessness, for de Certeau still represents a resource for people to be inventive and creative. Central in this context are everyday practices, which for the scholar provide a way to at least to some extent appropriate what has been created by hegemonic systems (Crang 2011). De Certeau takes inspiration from theories of language systems, in particular speech act theories, in order to draw attention to the differences between (language) systems and the ways in which people appropriate and transform these systems through everyday use (Gardiner 2000). The scholar for example speaks of 'pedestrian speech acts', perceiving the act of walking as a process of appropriating urban topographical systems.

This brief discussion already reflects the varied range of notions regarding the nature of the everyday, and in this thesis I take inspiration from a variety of different authors. I try to show a nuanced and complex picture of the everyday by drawing attention to the potential creativity of everyday practices, whilst also being careful not to be over-celebratory of the emancipatory potential of everyday life. As Felski (1999-2000) argues, the everyday is an essential and inevitable part of all our lives. It is, as the scholar makes clear, imbued with power relations, yet it is neither liberating nor reactionary per se. Everyday habits and routines can serve conservative ends, but they can at the same time also 'strengthen, comfort and provide meaning' (28). Similarly Hemmings et al. (2002) draw attention to the complex interweaving of micro and macro levels of everyday life, alluding to both the power relations shaping cultural practices and everyday spaces, as well as to the enabling potential of the everyday. In this thesis I similarly demonstrate how young people's everyday lives

are shaped by structural limitations and exclusionary politics of belonging, while also highlighting belongings emerging from everyday practices in tension with these conditions. A focus on the everyday thereby renders visible how national politics of belonging interweave with other scales of belonging on an everyday level. In the following I now want to turn to take a closer look at everyday practices, which are central to this research project.

2.6.2 Everyday practices of home making

A central concern of this research project was to identify processes underlying young refugees' experiences of belonging and to explore the ways in which young people develop a sense of home in the context of exclusionary politics of belonging. While most of the spaces discussed in this thesis are part of young people's quotidian lives, not all of these are strictly speaking 'everyday spaces'. In addition to considering young people's homes, neighbourhoods or particular public spaces, I also explore events and places outside the ordinary - such as residential weekends young people participated in. I suggest that these spaces could to some extent become ordinary and could become 'home' through practices and routines that were everyday and quotidian. Jordan (2002) in his study of rave communities of the 1990s draws attention to the ways in which rave events, despite being somewhat outside the ordinary, become everyday through the re-enactment of particular practices - through the re-living of familiar routines. In this thesis I also trace young people's practices that create a sense of familiarity, safety and comfort as discussed above, and that to some extent render the unfamiliar familiar, the un-homely homely.

Above I have already briefly alluded to Felski's (1999-2000) notions of the everyday, who - noting a lack of coherent theorising in the field - developed a highly useful framework for the concept. The scholar identifies three elements of the everyday, namely space - a sense of home; time - the repetitive component of everyday life, and lastly modality - habit as the mode of experience. Felski thereby acknowledges a sense of home as processual and as always in the making; in reference to de Certeau the scholar describes home as the 'active practising of place' (24). This notion of home as always emerging chimes with much of the literature discussed above and in particular with research focusing on migrants' experiences of home and belonging. The everyday for Felski moreover is a deeply temporal matter; she emphasises the repetitiveness of everyday life, which for her is not necessarily a sign of drudgery or opposed to progress and creativity, but signals the potential for 'both

resistance and enslavement' (1999-2000:21). Felski furthermore identifies routines we engage in on a daily basis as a central element of the everyday. Again, these are seen as neither normative nor resistant per se, but as holding potential in either direction (see also Pink 2012).

Like Felski, other scholars focusing on the everyday have emphasised the importance of everyday routines and practices. Simonsen (2007) for example suggests that our understanding of the world emerges on the basis of daily practices and similarly Horton and Kraftl (2013) highlight the significance of bodily practices for studies of the everyday. Researchers engaging with migrants' experiences of home have furthermore emphasised the centrality of practices for a sense of belonging. Blunt and Dowling for example suggest that the focus when studying home should lie on people's 'home making practices' (2006:23). Again Ahmed et al. (2003) speak of processes of 'homing' in order to account for the ways in which homes are lived, felt and made. Similarly the geographer Fenster (2005), in reference to de Certeau (2011 [1984]), suggests that seemingly banal everyday practices play a central role in creating a sense of belonging. In the following the scholar for example discusses the act of walking:

Belonging and attachment are built here on the base of accumulated knowledge, memory, and the intimate corporal experiences of everyday walking. A sense of belonging changes with time as these everyday experiences grow and their effects accumulate. (2005:243)

In this thesis I also afford particular attention to young people's daily activities and practices that enable a sense of home and belonging. It is thereby central to keep in mind the dynamic relationship between these practices and the spaces in which they occur (see Richardson 2013, Simonsen 2007). Everyday practices are neither determined by social and spatial conditions, nor are they independent of these. In this thesis I trace the ways in which politics of belonging impact on young refugees' everyday spaces and experiences of home, as well as the ways in which their daily practices transform and shape these spaces - to some extent rendering the unfamiliar familiar, the un-homely homely.

2.7 Concluding remarks

Writing these concluding lines I am still sat at the table in the home I have grown up in. The table, the room, the house - everything is deeply familiar to me, despite the fact that I have moved out of my parents' home several years ago. The house is still

a place of comfort, a place in which I feel relatively safe and 'at home', but also a place that reminds me of the struggles I had to fight as a teenager, negotiating and rebelling against the limitations set by my parents. In this chapter I have discussed these feelings, the affective building blocks of home - the sense of familiarity, comfort, safety, agency and community - exploring processes underlying feelings of being 'at home'. Yet at the beginning of the chapter I have also shared an excerpt of a letter appearing in the local newspaper. In this letter the author expresses his confusion and surprise that Muslim refugees would 'choose' to flee to Christian countries in Europe - remarks that reflect the ways in which belonging is not only a feeling of being 'at home', but is also always negotiated and struggled over, is connected to hegemonic discourses and politics of belonging. These two examples illustrated two important dimensions of home explored in this chapter - an embodied and affective sense of being 'at home' and the politics of belonging. In this thesis I argue that in order to be able to account for the complexity of belonging it is inevitable to pay attention to both, and the interweaving of these different dimensions of belonging in young refugees' everyday lives.

In exploring the concept of belonging in this chapter I have begun by providing a brief introduction to the concept of belonging as shared by critical scholarship, suggesting that it could provide important insights in the context of current debates surrounding immigration, integration and social cohesion. I have in particular highlighted notions of belonging as fluid and processual (although never free-floating), as multi-local and multi-scalar, as performative, embodied and deeply emotional. Following from this I considered two dimensions of belonging separately - namely the politics of belonging and an emotional and subjective sense of being 'at home'. I thereby pointed to shortcomings of previous research, which has tended to focus on the former to a greater extent than the latter. I suggested that these elements of belonging are by no means separable from each other and, as I show in this thesis, stand in complex interplay and tension with each other. I concluded this chapter by suggesting that the everyday provided a valuable lens through which to explore belonging at the intersection of these two dimensions.

Lastly, in my explorations of everyday experiences of belonging I have taken inspiration from both geographies of emotion as well as geographies of affect - in this thesis focusing on narratives of home and feelings young people reflected on in this context, as well as affective, embodied and less conscious elements of belonging

shaping young people's everyday lives. I suggested in the final part of this chapter that it was central to afford attention to everyday practices through which young people created a sense of homeliness. As Pink suggests, a focus on practices 'offers the researcher a route through which to enter the complexity that everyday life is' (2012:21). In this thesis I discuss embodied and affective practices through which young people developed a sense of being 'at home', thereby never losing sight of the ways in which wider politics of belonging impacted on these practices and everyday spaces.

Chapter 3

Research methods and ethical considerations



Photographs 3 'Research methods' ('Our Glasgow' photography project, 'Guide to Glasgow' film project)

3.1 Introduction

The pictures above are snapshots of moments I shared with participants over the course of this research project. They already give an idea of methods employed in this study, but also reflect the colourfulness and joyfulness that formed part of my fieldwork. In this chapter I provide a detailed account of the research process underlying this study. My aim is to enable the reader to gain an in-depth understanding of how this research was conducted and to be able to situate and evaluate the validity and rigour of the project. I furthermore provide an extensive discussion of ethical and practical issues arising in qualitative studies more generally and in this study in particular.

Involving young refugees in a research project opened up a whole range of considerations I had to take into account when planning and conducting this study. As previous research with refugees has shown, this group faces particular vulnerabilities, both through traumatic and difficult experiences in their past, as well as the political, legal and social marginality affecting this group in the present. As Mackenzie et al. (2007) suggest, refugees are often limited in their self-determination since many aspects of their lives are under the control of others. Jacobson and Landau (2003) further point out that researchers have often not done enough to ensure the safety of refugees participating in research projects. Moreover this research involved young refugees under the age of 18, who as ‘children’ are perceived to be even more ‘vulnerable’ (Byford & Thomas 2003, Mitchell 2008, Hopkins 2008a). While I am careful about blanket assumptions of ‘vulnerability’ of whole groups, it is undeniable that young people participating in this study were marginalised in many ways and that this research could potentially contribute to vulnerabilities affecting this group.

Alderson and Morrow (2004) assert that ethical considerations have to shape the research process from the planning stages to the dissemination of data. Throughout this research project, I have tried to take into consideration the vulnerabilities experienced by young refugees and to anticipate potential harms arising at different stages of this project. At the same time it is, however, important to acknowledge the agency and competency of children (Beazley et al. 2009) and refugees (Pittaway et al. 2010) despite their precarious life conditions. There is, as Eastmond (2007) points out, no one single refugee experience (see also Malkki 1995), and individuals deal with difficulties in different ways. Through methods employed in this research I

wanted to allow for participants' agency and to be able to account for their agency in everyday life, as well as protecting their identities and wellbeing throughout the research project.

In this chapter I set out the careful planning and thinking underlying this research project. I begin by briefly considering the starting point for this research - the location of the study, and then continue to provide a detailed account of participants involved. Following from this I discuss the methods employed in this research - namely participant observation, individual and group interviews and participatory projects, considering each in detail. I then move on to reflect on the data analysis guiding this thesis to finally conclude with an extensive subsection dealing with ethical issues arising in the context of this research. In doing so I discuss my own positionality and experiences of being in the 'field', as well as including considerations regarding the research process more generally, such as consent, anonymity and confidentiality.

3.2 Research participants

As I set out in the introduction to this thesis, previous research with young refugees has often chosen to focus on particular pre-defined groups of participants - most notably those identified as 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', but also on particular ethnic or national groups. Yet both of these approaches carry certain risks. First of all through focusing on 'children' researchers reproduce the binary between those perceived as 'children' and those seen as 'adults', between those who are seen as 'vulnerable' and those who presumably are not. The predominant focus on the experiences of 'children' has in addition contributed to the fact that one of the demographically largest groups of young refugees - young men in their early twenties - has been somewhat absent from research. Moreover, I chose not to privilege young people's ethnic identities over other aspects of their identities. As Glick Schiller (2008) argues, ethnicity and nationality are often the starting point for inquiries into migrants' experiences; for the scholar this equates to 'methodological nationalism' within mainstream social science (see also Morosanu 2013). Ethnic and national groups are internally diverse and placing these at the centre of one's inquiry runs risk of contributing to essentialising and homogenising these groups. Glick Schiller therefore suggests for research to start from a particular *locality* (see also Anthias 2006, 2008). I have chosen Glasgow as a starting point for this study given that it is the only dispersal city in Scotland, which since the early 2000s on average has received the largest number of asylum seekers outside London. In addition, Glasgow

was particularly interesting in the context of research with young refugees since it serves as the base for Scotland's unique Guardianship Service for 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children'.



Photograph 4 'Glasgow's city centre' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

3.2.1 Demographic background of research participants

While over the course of my fieldwork I came in contact and interacted with at least a hundred young people, in the following I focus in particular on those sixty young people who accompanied me throughout this study and most of whom participated in interviews and participatory projects described below. In this subsection I provide a detailed account of the diverse group of young refugees involved in this research, discussing age, gender, religion, familial circumstances, regions of origin and legal status (a table of research participants can also be found in Appendix A1).

Participants in this study were aged between 15 and 25 at the time of our first encounter,³⁵ with slightly more than half of those participating being under the age of 18, and a little less than a quarter respectively being between the ages of 19 and 21 and 22 and 25. It is important to note that these specifications reflect ages stated by young people themselves, which at times differed from ages they had been given by

³⁵ During 18 months of fieldwork young people of course changed between these different age bands.

the authorities. To my knowledge 12 of the young people involved in this study were 'age disputed' at some point.

While most of the young people participating in this study had arrived in the UK on their own, young people's familial circumstances varied. Almost half of the participants were supported by Guardianship as 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children'; yet being categorised as 'unaccompanied' did not necessarily mean that young people had arrived or lived in Scotland on their own (see also Crawley et al. 2004). Participants in this study for example had distant relatives in the UK, such as aunts, uncles and cousins, or had arrived with or joined siblings in Scotland. Five young people had one or both parents or stepparents in Glasgow, one young person lived in foster care and three other young people had lived in foster care prior to our first encounter. Only one young person taking part in this study was married, two young women had children of their own.

Overall, more than a third of young people participating in this research were female, which differs slightly from the gender composition of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in Scotland at the time of this research. While there are few separate statistics available regarding asylum seekers in Scotland, a report by Crawley and Kohli (2013) shows that about three quarters of unaccompanied minors supported the Scottish Guardianship Project were male, and only one quarter female. UK wide young men made up an even larger proportion of this group - in the year 2013 only fourteen percent of those categorised as 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' were female. However, in regards to adult asylum seekers, in the year 2013 women accounted for 27 percent of all adult asylum applications,³⁶ thus being closer to the gender composition of this research.

Furthermore a little less than two thirds of the young people taking part in this research identified as Muslim and about one third as Christian. A small number of young people had grown up as Muslim or Christian but identified as 'spiritual' rather than religious and one young woman had converted from Islam to Christianity.

³⁶ Refugee Council – Asylum Statistics Annual Trends:
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/2704/Asylum_Statistics_Annual_Trends_Sept_2014.pdf
(09.02.2015)

In this thesis I have chosen to list geographical regions³⁷ rather than specific countries of origin; I decided to do this mostly due to the fact that some young people taking part in this research came from relatively uncommon countries of origin and would have otherwise been easily identifiable. Overall the largest numbers of participants came from the regions of Southern Asia, Eastern and Western Africa. The countries most frequently represented were Afghanistan and Iran in the case of the former, and Somalia and Nigeria in the case of the latter two. This thereby mirrors overall demographic trends at the time of this research. As statistics show the majority of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' arriving in the UK in 2012/2013 came from the above-mentioned countries, as well as Albania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Syria and Vietnam³⁸ - all countries which were also represented in this study. The Scottish Guardianship Service in the same period of time supported 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' from similar countries of origin - most notably Afghanistan, Vietnam, Iran, Somalia, Gambia and Eritrea (Crawley & Kohli 2013).

It is thereby important to be aware of the complexity and shifting nature of young refugees' ethnic and national backgrounds. Asylum seeking populations are impermanent and as Voutira and Doná assert, refugees are a 'diffuse and "difficult to grasp" population' (2007:168). Countries of origin of asylum seekers change constantly, mirroring global developments, conflicts and political instabilities. At the time of writing this thesis demographic backgrounds of (young) asylum seekers already differ from those represented in this study. The year 2014, for example, has seen growing numbers of adult asylum seekers from Sudan and Eritrea, as well as Iraq and the largest group of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' came from Eritrea.³⁹ Over the past few years numbers of unaccompanied minors arriving in the UK have fallen, and so have numbers of children arriving from Afghanistan, who for a long time represented the majority of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children'.⁴⁰

³⁷ I thereby relied on macro geographical regions defined by the UN:
<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm> (09.09.2012)

³⁸ Refugee Council – Asylum Statistics Annual Trends:
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/2704/Asylum_Statistics_Annual_Trends_Sept_2014.pdf (09.02.2015)

³⁹ Refugee Council - Asylum Statistics November 2014:
http://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/3271/Asylum_Statistics_Nov_2014.pdf (03.03.2015)

⁴⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-july-to-september-2012/immigration-statistics-july-to-september-2012#asylum-part-1-applications-initial-decisions-and-outcome> (15.06.2014)

Most of the young people participating in the research had lived in Glasgow or Scotland for relatively short periods of time, ranging from a few weeks to three years. However, a small number of young people had lived outside Glasgow in other parts of Scotland or the UK for several years, mostly under the radar of the authorities. As I set out previously, while I refer to young people as ‘refugees’ in this thesis, the young people’s legal statuses differed greatly. As my fieldwork stretched over more than one and a half years I was able to witness young people passing through several stages of the asylum process - from claiming asylum, and waiting for their substantial interviews and decisions, to having their claims refused, appealing decisions, launching fresh claims, exhausting their appeal rights, going underground, to being granted some form of leave to remain, which was always a joyous occasion.

About half of the young people at the time of our first encounter were still seeking asylum, and a substantial proportion of those were later granted refugee status or - in a few cases - humanitarian protection or discretionary leave. Many were still waiting for their interviews or initial decisions when I ‘left’ the field or had had their claims refused. Less than a third of the young people taking part in this research had already been granted refugee status at the time of our first encounter; the remaining young people were in Scotland either on the basis of discretionary leave or through family reunion. About six young people had already had their asylum claims refused when we first met and a small number of young people were fighting complex legal battles not to be deported to other EU countries on the basis of the Dublin Regulation.⁴¹ Furthermore several of those involved in this research had shown indicators of trafficking as defined by the United Nations.⁴² Lastly, one young person was deported during the time of this research.

3.3 Research methods

In this subsection I provide a detailed account of research methods underlying this study. As I set out in the introduction to this thesis, the research question guiding this research was ‘What are the limitations young refugees face in establishing a sense of belonging in Glasgow and how do they carve out spaces and communities of belonging despite these limitations?’ Methods employed thus had to be able to

⁴¹ The Dublin Regulation determines that asylum seekers arriving in the EU have to seek asylum in the first country in which they arrive, or more precisely – the first country in which their fingerprints have been taken.

⁴² United Nations: Indicators of Trafficking: http://www.unodc.org/pdf/HT_indicators_E_LOWRES.pdf (15.06.2014)

provide an insight into young people's everyday experiences, as well as their personal understanding of home and belonging. I consequently designed a research project based on three different methodological pillars, namely participant observation, individual and group interviews and participatory projects. Through triangulation - in this case the employment of different methods - I aimed at giving greater validity to the findings emerging in this research (Flick 2011). I will now turn to discuss each of these methods in more detail and as will become clear throughout this section, these different methods complemented each other, evening out some of the shortcomings of each method employed on its own. It is important to note that methods to some extent changed over the course of the 18 months of my fieldwork. While I had designed the project meticulously prior to beginning the study, the realities of the field necessitated flexibility (see Davies et al. 2014). As I will describe below methods and ethical considerations had to be adapted to young people's realities and particular needs.

3.3.1 Participant observation

As alluded to above, refugees are a relatively difficult group to access (Pittaway et al. 2010), and this is even more so the case for those classified as 'children' (Hopkins 2008a). In order to be able to carry out this research I had to cooperate and negotiate access with agencies working with young refugees, which in the case of this research were the Scottish Guardianship Service and the British Red Cross' Chrysalis project - the two main organisations working with young refugees in Glasgow at the time of this research. My involvement with the Scottish Refugee Service facilitated negotiations with these gatekeepers; carefully explaining and setting out my research project (Valentine 2005) I was eager to participate and volunteer in programmes and events organised by these two agencies on a regular basis.

The Scottish Guardianship Service (or 'Guardianship') came into being in September 2010 after concerns had been raised about the lack of support for children in the asylum process and important research carried out by Hopkins and Hill (2006) on the experiences of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in Scotland. As I discussed in the previous chapter, only young people under the age of 18 are eligible for support and the service excludes young people who have been found to be 'adults', with the exception of young people who have an ongoing appeal against their age assessment. In addition to providing 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' with a guardian, over the past three years the service has increasingly aimed at supporting

young people in developing new 'networks of care and support' (Crawley & Kohli 2013:77) in Glasgow. For this purpose the service provided regular social activities for young people, activities I participated in as a volunteer and researcher.

The second project I attached myself to was Chrysalis, an orientation and life skills programme for young refugees in Glasgow. It is the only project of its kind provided by the British Red Cross in the UK and has, much like Guardianship, received great attention as a potential model for UK wide services. Chrysalis consists of four afternoon classes held from Monday to Thursday over the course of ten weeks of teaching and at the time of this research took place twice a year. On average about fifteen young people take part in each programme; numbers are, however, fluctuating - some young people drop out after a few days or weeks and new participants are taken up throughout the programme. Chrysalis classes cover general 'life skills' (topics such as first aid, culture and values and financial literacy), English, IT and 'fun days' with varying activities. During my fieldwork the project was delivered by two different 'life skills programme coordinators', with the support of volunteers and social work placement students. Again I participated in the project as both a volunteer and researcher.

Participant observation with these two projects was strongly marked by me actively taking part and contributing to activities with young refugees (see Davies et al. 2014). Over the course of 18 months of fieldwork I participated in three consecutive Chrysalis programmes, as well as participation events provided by Guardianship, which were organised at least once every fortnight. In addition I participated in all other social activities organised by both projects – accompanying young people to concerts and ceilidhs, taking part in four residential trips, practising performances for Refugee Week 2012 and 2013, celebrating Christmas or Ramadan together and so on. While it is difficult to quantify this involvement, I must have spent at least 700 hours with these projects. My interactions with young people thereby ranged from brief encounters and mere greetings, to in-depth conversations and relationships that are ongoing until today.

There were several advantages to employing participant observation. First of all, being embedded in these projects enabled me to establish relationships with both those working with young refugees as well as young people themselves. As Ní Raghallaigh and Gilligan (2010) and Kohli (2006) point out, refugee children often find it difficult to trust others and being part of these organisations over time enabled

me to develop relationships of relative trust with young people. These relationships was thereby facilitated through being able to take on a variety of different roles – I was not just a researcher, but also a student, a teacher, a volunteer, a babysitter, a friend or even personal secretary. In taking on these roles I was also able to some extent provide something in return to young people and service providers, with reciprocity increasingly being seen as an important aspect of research (Lewis 2003). As McDowell (1992) suggests, developing relationships with participants forms an integral part of the research process and the nature of relationships established in the field shapes what kind of data the researcher is able to produce. In my case the many roles I took on as part of this research, while leading to certain ethical consideration I will return to below, were central in establishing rapport with the young people and thus for carrying out this research project.

Furthermore as Rodgers suggests, through ‘hanging out’ with participants one can pay ‘attention to forms of knowledge about forced migration that are generated through informal, interpersonal and “everyday” types of encounter’ (2004:48). With its focus on everyday practices and experiences this approach was highly suitable for this research. The anthropologist Scheper-Hughes employs the term ‘witnessing’ rather ‘observing’, suggesting that ‘witnessing (...) is in the active voice, and it positions the anthropologist inside human events as a responsive, reflexive and morally committed being’ (1995:419). Being part of young people’s everyday lives meant that I ‘witnessed’ and shared young people’s everyday joys and worries, their laughter and sorrows, their hopes and despair. The young people and I would talk about the banal everyday as well as sharing profound conversations about our opinions and beliefs, our hopes and aspirations and I could take part in the young people’s everyday learning, and witness changes over time, which again was central in the context of a research question that aimed at documenting practices and processes.

Moreover relationships established with young people in turn facilitated the employment of other research methods. The design of these methods was based on knowledge I had gained in the field, the experiences and conversations I had shared with young people. Relationships established with service providers were also crucial in this context, influencing my ability to carry out interviews as well as participatory projects at a later stage. The support I was able to gain from service providers was for example demonstrated when the Scottish Guardianship Service as well as the

British Red Cross financially contributed to the photography project I organised in collaboration with *Open Aye* (see below). At the same time, however, participant observation depends on interpretations made by the researcher and it was important to me to enable young people to some extent choose their own narratives and explore issues in a private and relatively safe space through interviews, as I will now move on to discuss.

3.3.2 Individual and group interviews

The second approach forming a central pillar of this research consisted of individual as well as group interviews. On the whole I carried out 30 individual interviews as well as five interviews with groups of two to five young people which overall involved eighteen young people. An important component of qualitative approaches to interviewing is the rapport between interviewer and interviewee (O'Connell Davidson & Layder 1994) and having engaged with young people for several months made it easier to negotiate the formality of interviews. It was thereby important to closely consider the nature of the space in which to carry out the interview (Valentine 2005), and I decided to conduct interviews in the premises of Guardianship or the British Red Cross - spaces young people were familiar with and felt relatively safe in. In one case the young person preferred the interview to be held in his supported accommodation, which was approved by accommodation staff. I furthermore made sure that the rooms I used were able to provide a confidential space and conversations could not be overheard from outside. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours, depending on how long the young people wished to talk. I had only scheduled breaks for group interviews, also to enable interpreters to have a rest from the exhausting task of translating in a group setting, yet in individual interviews I also paid close attention to young people's body language and moods, offering breaks when they seemed to be needed (Lewis 2003).

Interviews are, as Burgess suggested 'conversations with purpose' (1984:102, cited in Mason 2002) and are always structured to some extent by decisions and judgments the researcher takes (Mason 2002). Careful planning thus went into designing interview schedules for this research project. Being aware that most participants would have encountered interviews with authorities such as the Home Office (Thomas & Byford 2003), for the first wave of interviews carried out with participants of Chrysalis I provided young people with cameras with which to take photographs of places and items important to them (see also Wilson et al. 2012). By

employing photo elicitation I had hoped to provide young people with an alternative way to express their experiences and with greater agency over the research process (Harper 2002). I had aimed at disrupting the formality of the interview setting that might have reminded young people of previous experiences with the Home Office. However, this approach simply did not work. Many young people had misunderstood the instructions translated by interpreters and either had not taken photographs at all or brought along photographs depicting what they referred to as “traditional” objects - assuming that I would want to learn about their respective cultures. A young woman from Southern Asia for example had shown my written instructions to her brother, who had instructed her to bring along images of her ‘culture’ - for example a photograph of her *salwar kameez*. Furthermore most of the young people who had brought along photographs had taken images of activities that we had engaged in together. While this provided an interesting insight in terms of how little engagement many young people had with others outside the setting of Chrysalis and thus their level of isolation, it also meant that the images provided a limited basis for our conversations.

I thereafter chose to conduct semi-structured interviews with young people, which despite being less ‘creative’ on the whole turned out more fruitful than these earlier interviews. Knowing the young people relatively well I would normally begin interviews with a brief checking in how they were. While interviews are often started with relatively easy or factual questions (Arthur & Nazroo 2003), I decided to begin by asking young people to tell me about their initial experiences of coming to Scotland.⁴³ In doing so I was hoping for young people to be able to set the tone for the conversation and decide the topics they wanted to place at the centre of the interview, which in general worked very well. While I aimed at following the ‘natural’ flow of the conversation (Valentine 2005), I had also designed a guide for these interviews, which consisted of different themes, similar to what Rubin and Ruben (2005) refer to as ‘tree and branch structure’ where equally important themes are explored with a range of sub-questions I could ask if the conversation came to a halt (see Appendix A2).

⁴³ Unless I knew that young people had been trafficked to the country and their initial experiences in Glasgow had been marked by sexual or economic exploitation. Again being embedded with these two projects proved incredibly useful; service providers would caution me in regards to certain sensitive subjects and I could run questions past those working with the young people before carrying out interviews.

As I indicated above I also carried out group interviews. Through my involvement with Chrysalis I could observe that young people enjoyed voicing their opinions in group settings and I thus wanted to provide a similar opportunity with this research. The themes covered in these discussions corresponded with those forming the basis for individual interviews. In addition to asking open questions I made use of post-it notes in order to enable all young people to participate in the discussion, without necessarily having to speak out in front of everyone else (see Hopkins 2008a).

Again there were several advantages to carrying out interviews with young people. As O'Connell Davidson and Layder suggest, interviews provide the 'opportunity to explore the subjective values, beliefs and thoughts of the individual respondent' (1994:125). While I could do this to some extent through everyday conversations in the field, these conversations were limited through a lack of privacy and time. Interviews on the contrary allowed me to explore meanings and subjective experiences in more depth (Arksey & Knight 1999); while an interview is always co-shaped by both interviewer and interviewee (Garton & Copland 2010), I still felt that it provided young people with a greater opportunity to choose their own narrative. Hearing these was central, since, as Eastmond suggests, in the context of forced migration 'stories are important sites not only for negotiating what has happened and what it means, but also for seeking ways of going forward' (2007:251). Moreover I could use interviews to reflect on questions that arose in the field and to clarify and reflect upon my own observations together with the young people.

By including both individual and group interviews I could both provide young people with the opportunity to speak to me individually and to potentially express themselves more freely (Conradson 2005), as well as taking part in group interviews. The latter consisted of groups young people were familiar with and a way of expressing themselves they had encountered previously through Chrysalis. As Lewis (2003) suggests, several factors play into the decision whether to carry out interviews in a group or individual setting and the study population plays an important role in this context. As Lewis notes, for certain groups of participants being surrounded by others they already know can feel safer and more comfortable, and this was the case for many of the participants in my research.

A further important benefit of carrying out interviews was that I could employ interpreters who facilitated in-depth conversations with young people, as Tu (15-18, South-Eastern Asia) for example commented at the end of our interview:

He thinks through this conversation he has been, obviously he met you before and he interacted with you before and although, because of the language obstacles he can only say greetings and say hello. But he thinks that through this conversation you get a glimpse of the kind of life that he has, and he is really happy about it.

On the whole I employed interpreters for 27 of the young people interviewed alone or in groups. While this facilitated communication with young people beyond mere “greetings”, as Tu commented, working with interpreters also posed certain challenges (see overleaf). As I will now turn to discuss, as the last piece in this puzzle of methods I also included participatory methods.

Working with interpreters - A brief discussion

While working with interpreters was essential in order to be able to carry out in-depth interviews, this also brought about particular challenges. Using interpreters meant that the narratives young people shared were filtered through the understanding and voice of the interpreter. What I got to hear was already shaped by the interpretation of the interpreter. As Temple and Young make clear, the interpreter does not only translate words, but also 'makes assumptions about meaning equivalence that make her an analyst and cultural broker as much as a translator' (2004:171). Furthermore the presence of an interpreter influences the experience and dynamics of the research encounter itself (Ficklin and Jones 2009). The positionality of the interpreter, their ethnicity, gender, class, political opinion and so on impact on the interview situation. It was hence important to choose interpreters with care; yet while I made sure that I asked young people in advance about their preferences in terms of gender and dialect of the interpreter, actual choices were often limited. For Bajuni for example, a language spoken in Somalia, few interpreters were available in Glasgow. In addition, it was impossible to anticipate how different aspects of the interpreters' and young people's identities would play out. Moreover interpreters' individual styles and preferences strongly influenced the research experience – while some perceived themselves as 'robots', simply translating words and in doing so often running counter to the comfortable and informal setting I had hoped to create for our interviews, others got carried away in discussions, sharing their own opinions and stories.

I had attended Scottish Refugee Council training on working with interpreters prior to this research, yet I also had to resolve many issues situationally. Throughout the research I became more and more aware of how best to brief interpreters prior to interviews and how to manage their involvement. I also only employed interpreters again who I had felt had contributed positively to the research encounter, if possible asking young people at later occasions how satisfied they had been with the work of the interpreter in question. In my writing the presence of the interpreter is often made visible through the interpreter's use of the pronouns she/he and in particular cases I refer to the interpreter's presence if I feel that their influence needs to be highlighted.

The several challenges posed by employing interpreters again highlight the need for triangulation. As Ficklin and Jones assert, the employment of interpreters can affect 'the articulation and/or silencing of "voice"' and triangulation thus 'becomes more important as the researcher seeks to illuminate the interview encounter from as many angles as possible' (2009:126-7). It was therefore central to also employ other research methods, such as the participatory methods described below.

3.3.3 Participatory methods

In this last section I will focus on participatory projects I organised as part of this research. The projects I organised emerged somewhat organically from my involvement with both Chrysalis and Guardianship and were developed in conversation with service providers, a photographer and filmmaker who had already been involved with young refugees previously through these projects, as well as conversations with young people. In total I organised three participatory projects - two were based on filmmaking⁴⁴ and one on photography; a total of 29 young people were involved in these projects. In the following I will provide a detailed account of each project, followed by a short consideration why it was central to me to include participatory methods in this research.

Film project 1:	A guide to Glasgow for future arrivals
When:	August 2012
With the support of:	Guardianship Lucas Kao, Edinburgh based filmmaker & friend
Duration:	3 whole days, plus 3 evenings of editing
Where:	Guardianship office, various locations in Glasgow
Participants:	6 young people from Guardianship (2 young men, 4 young women)

This project partly emerged from an interest of Guardianship staff to produce a visual guide to Glasgow for young refugees and partly from my conversations with young people who had voiced concerns over having little to do in the approaching summer months. I decided to organise a participatory film workshop with the help of the filmmaker Lucas Kao, who had already worked with some of the young people previously on a short-film about the Guardianship Service. We started off by organising a group meeting open to anyone supported by Guardianship in order to find out what kind of film young people would be interested in making (see poster in Appendix A3). We then provided young people with a few examples of potential projects, whilst at the same time being open for their ideas and suggestions. The participants thereupon picked up on the idea developed by Guardianship staff to produce a filmic guide to Scotland for future arrivals. The young people's aim was, as Cutie, one of the participants summarised, to show future arrivals that "there was

⁴⁴ Initially I had planned to include copies of the DVDs produced with my thesis, yet have decided against this due to the fact that some of the young people's actual names were displayed in these films.

nothing to be afraid of” and the overall final films therefore show a relatively positive image of Glasgow.

Following from this initial planning meeting we agreed three days in August when the workshop would be held. On the first day, which took place at the Guardianship premises, we established what the young people wanted to see included in the final film, followed by Lucas teaching the participants basic camera skills. The rest of the afternoon we then recorded each other speaking about several issues we had decided to include in the film, as well as interviewing Guardianship staff. The second day was spent exploring Glasgow with the camera, visiting locations young people had identified as important for this filmic guide to Glasgow - such as various parks, the college, a lawyer’s office and the main shopping street. The day ended with an impromptu performance of the song ‘I love Glasgow’⁴⁵ by some of the participants. The third day was set aside for editing, yet since the young people had recorded several hours of footage, we had to arrange for three more afternoons to be able to edit most of the film. The final films were saved onto DVDs and given to the young people participating in the project as well as the manager of the Guardianship Service. The page overleaf shows photographic impressions of this project.

⁴⁵ The song consisted entirely of this one sentence, although one young man added the line: “But I’m not happy - because I’m single!”



Photographs 5

'Impressions of film project 1:
A guide to Glasgow'



Film project 2:	What was it like to come to Glasgow?
When:	November 2012
With the support of:	British Red Cross GMAC (Glasgow Media Access Centre)
Duration:	2 afternoon sessions
Where:	GMAC seminar room, Red Cross office
Participants:	10 young people from Chrysalis (8 young men, 2 young women)

I organised this small-scale film project on my own as part of the second Chrysalis programme I took part in. In preparation I attended a workshop on participatory film making with young people organised by GMAC. Following from this workshop I was provided with equipment by GMAC and Chrysalis staff set aside two afternoons for me to produce a short film with the young people. On the first afternoon we learned basic camera skills together (the young people's knowledge soon surmounting mine) and practiced these with various exercises in which young people tried to translate single words, such as 'love', 'peace' or 'anger' into visual images. After these exercises, which proved to be a lot of fun for the young people involved, we sat down in two groups (one led by a Chrysalis worker, one by myself) to discuss possible short films centring around topics such as 'friendship' or 'home'. Due to communication difficulties (we had to work without interpreters) and time restraints we ended up deciding on a simple documentary style film in which the young people would share their experiences of arriving in Glasgow and their ideas of what 'home' meant to them. This was filmed on the following afternoon over the course of a few hours and interestingly similar to the previous film the day ended with young people performing songs and dance in front of the camera. Since only one young person volunteered to help with the editing process, the two of us met on a separate afternoon to edit a short three-minute film, with me giving the young man the lead on the editing process. In addition I later put together a short 'best-of' film for the young people as a memory of the day, showing funny scenes, which were accompanied by songs young participants had performed during the filming. Both short-films were made available to young people participating in the project in the form of DVDs. In addition the films were screened by GMAC in the Glasgow Film Theatre in February 2013. Below are some screenshots of the final film.



Photographs 6

'Screenshots of film project 2:
What was it like to come to Glasgow?'

Photography project:	'Our Glasgow' - A photographic guide to Glasgow
When:	June – August 2013
With the support of:	Guardianship and British Red Cross Becky Duncan, OpenAye (photographer)
Duration:	10 afternoons over the course of eight weeks
Where:	Garnethill Multicultural Centre, Mitchell Library, various locations in Glasgow
Participants:	13 young people (6 young men, 7 young women)
Website:	www.ourglasgow.org.uk

This last project was the most elaborate out of the three projects I organised and was developed over the course of several months in collaboration with Becky Duncan, a photographer I had met at workshops she had previously held for Guardianship and Chrysalis young people. The project to some extent evolved from the above described filmic guide to Glasgow; we were hoping to make up for some of the shortcomings of the project - the length of the films as well as the fact that it was based on English language and we had had neither time nor money to produce videos with subtitles in various languages. After weeks of working on a proposal for the project, running this past several organisations, we were able to secure funding from the British Red Cross, Scottish Refugee Council and the Guardianship Service. Similar to the first film project this photography project was preceded by an information afternoon on which young people, who had previously learned camera skills in workshops the photographer had provided, were given an introduction to the project and asked whether they wanted to participate (see Appendix A4).

The final project involved 13 young people who over the course of several weeks produced a pictorial guide for young refugees in Glasgow. Each afternoon was organised to include both time for discussions of categories and content of the guide and previously taken photographs as well as enabling young people to learn and practice a new camera skills each week, such as landscape or portrait photography (see Appendix A5). Over the course of eight weeks we produced a whole range of photographs which were assigned to a total of ten categories young people had decided should form the basis for the guide: advice, areas, education, favourite things to do, leisure, parks, places of worship, refugee services, shops and transport.

At the end of the project we produced both an image-based guidebook to Glasgow as well as a website. Through taking part in the project young people learned advanced camera skills, as well as receiving certificates as volunteers from Open

Aye for participation in the project. Young people were also able to keep the cameras they had been given at the start of the project.

Having set out the different projects I organised, I will now turn to discuss why it was important to me to include participatory methods in this research. There were two main reasons underlying my rationale for carrying out these projects. Firstly, as I already touched upon above, these methods enabled a greater degree of participation for young people involved in this study. Especially in the context of research with children, scholars have increasingly tried to find ways for children to actively participate in research (Anderson & Morrow 2004, Beazley et al. 2009, Boyden & Ennew 1997, Tisdall et al. 2008). Similarly researchers working with refugees have called for methods that allow for greater participation and ideally leading to greater autonomy and agency of those involved (Hugman et al. 2011).

However, while ‘participation’ has become a buzzword in present day research (Pain & Francis 2003), what passes as ‘participatory’ in reality takes different forms and levels of participation, ranging from tokenism and manipulation to projects that are truly participant-initiated and led (Thomas 2007, Holland et al. 2010). As Pain and Francis (2003) assert, it is important to differentiate between participatory techniques and participatory approaches. The latter do not refer to a particular method, but rather a basic orientation towards research itself (Ladkin 2004) and today several approaches try to allow for research that is equally led and executed by those participating, as well as potentially enabling social change – such as Participatory Action Research (PAR), Rural Appraisal (RA) or Participatory Appraisal (PA). As Kindon et al. (2007) point out, these methods are by no means a panacea for all research ills and are not necessarily based on an attempt to effect social change. Yet despite these limitations, the underlying principles of participatory approaches are central to ethically sound research. While not basing my own study on participatory action research, I shared values underlying these approaches⁴⁶ - such as the assumption that those participating in research hold valuable knowledge and the ability to reflect upon their own situation. My research was also informed by an “ethic of care” in its most profound sense as a ‘deep respect for relationships and humanity’ (Cahill, Sultana & Pain 2007:306).

⁴⁶ See for example: The Public Science Project, ‘Map’: <http://www.publicscienceproject.org/files/2013/04/PAR-Map.pdf> (06.05.2015)

The reasons for employing participatory methods rather than designing a study entirely based on a participatory approach were manifold. This was firstly due to limitations posed by expectations of funders' and general requirements of a PhD project. I only had limited time to carry out this research and as Pain and Francis (2003) assert, being based on dialogue and negotiation participatory action research is hugely time consuming. Furthermore the requirements of a PhD make it more or less impossible to involve participants at all stages of the project - ethical approval for example has to be sought prior to the fieldwork, which poses a general problem for PAR projects (Bradley 2007), and the writing of the final thesis too lies in the hands of the PhD student. In addition I faced practical challenges; young refugees taking part in this research led relatively chaotic and unpredictable lives and often had more pressing issues to deal with than taking part in a time consuming and lengthy research project (see also Pain & Francis 2003). However, through carrying out three participatory projects I could offer young people more control over certain elements of this research project, letting them decide how to articulate and present their own narratives of belonging.

In addition to allowing for greater influence of research participants, participatory methods can enable participants to explore issues in alternative ways to traditional research methods. Scholars within childhood and youth studies have aimed to develop methods that enable children and young people to express their views through more creative means (Punch 2002), for example including methods based on photography, drawing, role-play or filming (Boyden & Ennew 1997). While these methods are also employed with adult participants - in particular visual methods such as filming and photography (see Banks 2001, Pink 2004, Prosser 1998), they are far more common in the context of research with children and young people. Visual methods can, as Pink suggests, allow us to 'incorporate knowledge that is not accessible verbally' (2004:361), which is of particular relevance in a context in which young people spoke limited English. Returning to notions of participation, these methods can also, as Richards (2011) suggests, aid participation and being actively involved can keep alive the interest of participants in the research project (see also Pain & Askins 2011).

Lastly as Pittaway et al. (2010) argue, research with refugees (and more generally) should aim at reciprocal relationships and should provide those participating with something in return (see also Alderson & Morrow 2004). While through volunteering

with Guardianship and Chrysalis I could provide some support to young people in everyday lives, these projects enabled me to provide young people with more explicit benefits of taking part in this research. As I discussed above young people were able to learn new skills and walk away with films, booklets or cameras. Furthermore the projects in themselves were joyful and positive experiences for most young people (and myself), as the many images and footage of young people singing, dancing and laughing together bear witness to. These projects also provided opportunities for young people to meet and establish relationships with others, something that was important for young people who were often highly isolated, as I show in this thesis.

3.4 Data generated and data analysis

In this subsection I will explore the data analysis underlying this thesis. First of all, it is important to set out the different kinds of data stemming from the methods discussed above. This data can be separated in three categories - fieldnotes, recordings and transcripts, and visual data in the form of film and photography. In the following I consider each in detail.

Firstly each of the three methods employed in this research led to an extensive amount of *fieldnotes*, examples of which can be found in Appendix A6. As is common for participant observation, I noted my experiences and observations in detail in a field-diary (Cook 2005), thereby trying to record occurrences, conversations, feelings and reflections as accurately as I could. It was important to me not to censor myself, but to record everything I remembered in order to be as open as I could towards new insights. I similarly did not censor emotions I experienced in the field - taking detailed notes of these in my diary. My reflections also included observations, experiences and feelings I had when carrying out interviews or participatory projects, for example recording how these had worked out, the challenges I had faced, the emotionality of these experiences and considerations on how to improve future research encounters.

Fieldnotes were thereby recorded twice. Living in Edinburgh during the time of this research I would at first record detailed descriptions of my experiences during the day during my train journey home.⁴⁷ Having arrived I would then type up these notes electronically, later destroying the paper notes I had taken. In doing so I could ensure that firstly I would take notes when impressions were still fresh in my mind and that secondly by recording these notes twice (once on paper as well as digitally) I could

⁴⁷ Making sure that fellow passengers could not see what I was writing.

make sure that I would add observations I had forgotten in the first round of note taking. I saved these notes in folders organised by months and years, named according to the date on which they had been taken. These notes as well as all other forms of data discussed below were securely and confidentially stored through remote access to my University account.

Secondly through carrying out interviews as well as the participatory projects I collected data in the form of *recordings* and *transcripts*. All interviews were recorded apart from two individual interviews in which young people had asked me to take notes rather than tape our conversations. Individual and group interviews together amounted to approximately 43 hours of recordings, all of which were later transcribed. Similarly all speech-based recordings occurring in the context of the film projects discussed above were transcribed. I did all of these transcriptions myself since this had formed part of my confidentiality agreement with the participants. I thereby transcribed everything verbatim, also noting pauses, disturbances and young people's gestures and mimic if I could remember these in hindsight or had noted these down in my field-diary.

As Corden and Sainsbury (2006) note, being quoted verbatim is not always in the interest of interviewees; participants in their research for example were conscious of sounding unprofessional. For young people who still at times made grammar mistakes (as did interpreters, as well as myself), this could also be the case. Yet I decided to give priority to reproducing young people's 'voices' as much as I could, thus not altering words or grammar used by young people or interpreters. Some of the quotes in this thesis are written in the third person pronoun in cases where this had been the preference of the interpreter in question, something that renders the act of translation more visible (Edwards 1998). I also noted passages that were incomprehensible with the abbreviation 'UNV' of the German word 'unverständlich' with an additional note if this had affected more than a single word.

Lastly I gained a vast collection of *visual data* - firstly in the form of photographs emerging from the first round of interviews (see examples overleaf), the 'Our Glasgow' project, as well as photographs taken by young people which aimed at documenting the film making process of projects described above. Secondly I ended up with several hours of recordings on film, in particular through the first film project.



Photographs 7 'Photo diary' (Interviews 2012)

3.4.1 Data analysis and writing

As my discussion above shows, at the end of my fieldwork I ended up with a diverse and vast amount of data. In this section I discuss how I worked through this data and how I went about analysing as well as writing about the insights I had gained. Data analysis is an on-going process, starting from the planning stage of the research project and extending far into the writing-up stage (Ritchie et al. 2003). Throughout my fieldwork I already engaged with knowledge I had gained in the field, analysing what I observed through taking extensive 'thought-notes', as well as reflecting on my observations with others in the field - young people, fellow academics and service providers, who all formed an important part of this process of sense-making. I furthermore compiled two field reports during my fieldwork, reflecting on the methods I had employed, ethical challenges I had come across as well as central themes emerging. In addition I wrote two short reports reflecting on observations I had made in the setting of Chrysalis for Red Cross service providers who had asked me for a contribution to evaluating and improving their services for young people.

As Ritchie et al. (ibid) suggest, aside from these preliminary processes of analysis, there are two key stages that characterise more formalised data analysis - firstly the organisation and management of data gained and secondly a process of making sense of this data through descriptive and explanatory accounts. At first I had to compile and organise the data generated through this research, which I decided to do with the help of NVivo, a software tool frequently used for qualitative data analysis. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software, short CAQDAS, have become the subject of criticism in the past. Aside from a general mistrust towards 'modern' technologies, these have for example been criticised for potentially creating a distance between the researcher and her data or for encouraging researchers to take shortcuts and for de-contextualising data (Bryman 2008).

However, there are also important benefits to using these programmes and, as Weitzman (2000) argues, used the right way they can increase the rigour of one's research. While CAQDAS has been criticised for de-contextualising data, NVivo enables the user to see nodes in their context (Weitzman 2000). Furthermore, because I had known participants of the study for long periods of time and had re-visited notes and transcripts repeatedly throughout my fieldwork meant that I was already very familiar with the data generated through this research. NVivo thereby enabled me to organise and reduce this large set of data, which was particularly important considering the sheer amount of fieldnotes I had taken (see Davies et al. 2014). I thus at first imported all textual data into an NVivo project and then started the process of open coding (Strauss & Corbin 1998). I organised data inductively, assigning paragraphs or statements particular codes ('nodes') that were implicated in these segments – examples include nodes such as 'home', 'friends' or 'religion'. I thereby coded the whole set of data cross-sectionally, as well as assigning multiple codes to individual paragraphs if these referred to more than one issue (Spencer et al. 2003). I then moved on to 'axial coding' - reconnecting themes established through the process of open coding (Silverman 2006). In doing so I organised data in categories and subcategories, for example the category 'physical homes and neighbourhoods' contained the nodes 'housing', 'homelessness', 'neighbourhood' and 'neighbours'. Having finished this process I then created a table of young people taking part in this study, noting all the themes that had been explored with each individual participant.

Following from this, I created word documents for each of these themes and subthemes, writing summaries of patterns, commonalities and differences I found within these themes. These documents later formed the basis for my chapters. As Spencer et al. (2003) make clear, it is thereby important to remain close to the data to begin with, avoiding quick jumps of abstraction. The writing process which has now taken almost two years thus progressed slowly from largely descriptive versions, in which I mainly relied on participants' 'voices', to more analytically and theoretically informed chapters. These earlier versions, however, formed an important basis for me to test the validity of the final content of current chapters.

Films and photographs stemming from this research were not imported into NVivo, as peers had suggested that this would slow down the software significantly - CAQDAS have only recently begun to enable the researcher to include non-textual data (Weitzman 2000). I have afforded fieldnotes and transcripts more attention in the process of data analysis. This is not because I believe that the former are more important, but because visual data stemming from participatory projects was to a large extent generated in my presence. The photos we would take through the 'Our Glasgow' project for example, to a large extent stemmed from group visits to local parks or museums, and similarly, as discussed above, photographs from the first wave of interviews mostly depicted activities we had undertaken through Chrysalis. As Pain and Askins (2003) suggest, participatory projects do not necessarily explore issues relevant to the researcher herself and this was also often the case with data stemming from projects I had organised. In my analysis I focused to a greater extent on the small number of photographs young people had taken on their own, since these provided more insights into their everyday lives. These thereby worked complementary with other forms of data, as for example alluded to above - the photographs taken by Chrysalis participants mirrored the degree of isolation they experienced. Even if not always being of value for the research question I had posed, I find it important to include photographs in the final version of this thesis. While academic writing reduces the emotional content of everyday life to some degree, these photographs in their own way provide colour (both literally and metaphorically) and life to this thesis, and thus provide insights beyond the textual.

3.5 Ethical considerations

In this final subsection I explore important ethical considerations underlying this research project, although I have already touched upon several ethical issue above.

This project received ethical approval through Newcastle University and aside from minor tweaks, the research design was approved immediately. However, while academic approval procedures ask the researcher to map out methods and ethics prior to the research project (Manzo & Brightbill 2007), ethics play central role throughout the research process from designing the project to writing up and dissemination of data (Anderson & Morrow 2004). Ethical challenges can thereby not be fully anticipated prior to the fieldwork, but ethics often have to be, as Puch asserts, 'resolved situationally, and even spontaneously, without the chance of armchair reflection' (1986:12). In this subsection I discuss important considerations shaping this project; I begin by exploring issues regarding the process of carrying out a research project, in particular focusing on consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and then conclude by reflecting on my own positionality and experiences in the field.

3.5.1 Carrying out a research project

In this section I will consider issues regarding informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. While all of these play a central role in any research project, research with refugees and refugee children call for particular considerations in this context. Eastmond suggests in the context of research with refugees that 'ethical issues are acute when dealing with individuals who are not in a position to control the fate of their stories, and demand considerably more of the researcher in terms of sensitivity to questions of power, confidentiality and accountability than in many other fields' (2007:261). Informed consent, the agreement to participate in research on the basis of having been fully explained the research process, aims and the way that data will be stored and disseminated, is a central corner stone of ethical research (Lewis 2003). As part of this research project I made sure to explore the nature of this research in detail with young people taking part in interviews or participatory projects and secured either written or oral consent from young people (see Appendix A7). However, it was at times difficult to assert whether those involved had fully grasped and understood what research was (see also Morrow 2009), despite carefully explaining what I was doing, the concept itself was alien to some of the participants.

Furthermore participating in Chrysalis and Guardianship meant that not everyone was always aware of my role as a researcher, despite the fact that research was done overtly (Davies et al. 2014). When first being introduced in these projects, I presented myself as both a volunteer and researcher, and in conversations with young people would always be clear about my role(s). Yet because both

organisations worked with a large number of young people meant that I was never able to secure informed consent from every single person present. The Guardianship project for example worked with more than one hundred young refugees at the time of my research, and although a core group of young people attended social activities on a regular basis, attendance overall varied and changed over time. The fluidity of the space thus made it impossible to inform every single person present about my role, let alone secure consent from each young person. Mason suggests:

‘Recognizing that fully informed consent may be impossible always to achieve puts researchers in a powerful and highly responsible position, and means that they have a greater, not less duty to engage in a reflexive and sensitive moral research practice’ (2002:82).

Considerations about how to engage with and write about the experiences of young refugees have therefore accompanied me throughout my fieldwork. In the context of interviews, while I did not, as Blake (2007) for example suggests, recurrently ask young people for their consent, I would make it very clear that young people could stop interviews and not answer questions at any time. Furthermore it was central to me to pay attention to non-verbal signs and body language (Legard et al. 2003) and like Hopkins (2008a) I tried to be attuned to the emotional geographies of the research encounter. Furthermore while observations I made through my fieldwork fed into my overall understanding, when writing up I decided to only quote and refer to young people in particular who were aware of my role as researcher and had consented to the research. As I discussed above the rapport I had built with young people meant that these felt more comfortable talking to me, yet this could run the risk to lead young people to share ‘too much’ (see Mason 2002, Roulston 2010). I thus decided to leave out certain quotes or stories when feeling in doubt whether young people would want to share these, or decided to uncouple certain quotes from young people’s pseudonyms in order to protect their identities.

Overall, it was central to me to protect the participants’ anonymity. As I discussed above, I do not disclose exact ages or countries of origin. Furthermore young people were asked to come up with their own pseudonyms, which explains why pop stars such as JayZ or Rihanna had taken part in this research. Anonymity of research participants has been criticised for limiting the agency of those participating and muting their voices (Blake 2007, Manzo & Brightbill 2007). Some participants of this study asked me to use their real names, claiming that they had “nothing to hide”.

However, I decided that in research with young people who were often still going through the asylum system and who faced several vulnerabilities in this context, it was still an overriding concern to protect participants' identities (see also Pittaway et al. 2010). As I alluded to in the introduction to this thesis, I follow Apo's experiences at the beginning of each empirical chapter. I have, however, changed certain characteristics and aspects of his story in order to protect the young man's identity. Moreover, while young people taking part in participatory projects were aware that these formed part of my research, I also explicitly asked these groups for their consent to use video and photographic material in this thesis and future reports.

Lastly, when setting out my research project to young people I explained that data was being treated confidentially, regarding all three types of confidentiality Hill lists - public confidentiality, social network confidentiality as well as third party confidentiality 'where a group or household member reveals something personal about another' (2005:75). Interpreters were included in these confidentiality agreements (Mackenzie et al. 2007). At the same time I made clear, however, that if I felt that a young person was at risk or put someone else at serious risk, I would have to potentially breach confidentiality and inform relevant authorities (see Gallagher 2008). This was, thankfully, never the case.

3.5.2 *Being a researcher*



Photograph 8 'The researcher' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

The photograph above is probably one of my favourite images of myself. I love the colours and the brightness, the composition and complete unawareness of those in the picture of being photographed. The image was taken by a participant of the 'Our Glasgow' project and I have placed it at the outset of this section not only because I think it is a beautiful picture, but more importantly since it symbolises central questions arising when undertaking social research, questions of power and representation, positionality and relationships forming in the field - questions I now explore in this final section of the chapter.

To begin with, the photograph reflects important considerations regarding the role of the researcher in the research process. The image seems to be taken from the point of view of the young person depicted behind the camera - yet at the same time I myself am highly visible in the picture. Similarly this thesis, while following young people's narratives, is still filtered through my own interpretations and understanding. Furthermore what I was able to learn always depended on how young people wanted to or were able to communicate with me. JayZ (15-18, Western Africa) for example commented: "I don't know, I guess the best way for me to explain this would be like maybe showing you a video of everything I have seen because that way you would

understand, because it's hard to explain." Feminist scholars have long argued that the knowledge we gain through research is always limited, situated and positioned in a specific context (see for example Haraway 1991, McDowell 1992, Rose 1997), an assumption that is now becoming increasingly widespread in qualitative research more generally (Mason 2002). This thesis is thus based on my subjective interpretation and knowledge of the young people's experiences – as with the photograph I am somewhat at the centre of this thesis. However, as McDowell (1992) argues in reference to Haraway, by reflecting on the context of knowledge created and our own role in the field we can aim for 'feminist objectivity'. Davies et al. (2014) point to the importance of objectivity that is not based on the assumption that the researcher is able to shed prior experiences and knowledge, but that it is important to constantly check oneself in regards to how particular values and understandings influence the research process. As England makes clear, reflexivity is central to ethical research practice, reflexivity for her referring to the 'self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher' (1994:244).

In this research project I have tried to build reflexive practice into my research. As I described above, my field diary formed an important tool for continuous reflections. I would often re-read previous notes to check upon myself, how I depicted occurrences and the biases that might have influenced my observations. Furthermore my continuous engagement with young people and service providers meant that I could discuss my thoughts and feelings with these others, testing observations throughout the research process. My field diary and these discussions with others further enabled me to consistently reflect upon research methods employed. As I described above these reflections influenced the way I organised interviews as well as participatory projects, and in doing so improved the rigour of this research. While my own values had informed the research project to start with, I tried not to influence what young people would tell me; while never lying when young people asked me questions, I tried to avoid providing my own opinions when they shared their views.

Furthermore it is important to reflect on one's own positionality in the field and the relationships emerging in this context. Returning to the photograph above, the image can also be seen as a symbol of the power relations shaping the research encounter. Not knowing the context of the photograph, the image seems to depict a young black

man taking a photograph of a white woman. While the young man is placed in the shadow, the main focus lies on the white woman, whose brightness is enhanced by the sunlight and her white clothing. The photograph could thus be read as a symbol of the unequal power relations between those perceived as 'white' and those identified as 'black', thereby also reminding me of Fanon's (2008 [1952]) descriptions of black yearning for the validating love of the white female 'Other'. Reflecting and being clear about my own role in the field therefore also involves an acknowledgement of the power relations and privileges structuring the field. Yet I feel that a mere listing of categorisations of social identities is of little use in this context. As Hopkins (2007) rightly asserts, similarities and differences of identities are never absolute, and stand in complex interplay with each other and after all I argue in this thesis that relationships between people can never be accounted for by solely focusing on 'differences' of their identities. Assuming a fixed identity, as Carrillo Rowe suggests, 'positions the scholar/critic/activist as always already belonging to a group' (2004:32), thereby ignoring real life relationships and alliances. While in many ways my background marked me as different from the young people, we also connected over several aspects of our identities, for example a shared interest in cooking or the knowledge that we all were new to Glasgow, despite the fact that I had chosen to come to the city.

Moreover in the context of research encounters there was no simple distinction between those who held power and those who did not. O'Connell Davidson and Layder (1994) for example point to a sense of vulnerability a female researcher may experience when interviewing male respondents, despite the ways in which the role of the researcher brings with it particular power over the encounter. While I was privileged in many ways through my status as researcher and a white middle class woman with citizenship of two European countries, different aspects of the young people's identities as well as my own identities played out differently in different contexts. As Gallagher (2008) and Kesby (2005) argue, power is always part of social relationships and rather than being seen as 'property' of someone or a group, should be seen as ambivalent and dynamic. While I do not want to deny the many privileges afforded to me through several aspects of my identity, my relationships with young people (and those working with the young people) were complex and so were the power relations operating between us. As the photograph again symbolises, despite my role as a researcher, I too was observed by others and had to negotiate these perceptions. Furthermore young people had their own strategies of exerting

agency and were by no means powerless in the research encounter (Davis 1998) - when Bilal for example got bored of being interviewed he simply suddenly 'remembered' an appointment he had to go to, thus exerting tactical agency in the situation.

Lastly, again looking at the photograph it reminds me of the strong emotional relationships I formed in the field - like many others both the photographer as well as the young man in the picture have grown close to my heart over the course of my fieldwork. Returning to the issue of 'objectivity' discussed above, emotional attachments are often perceived as somewhat jeopardising the legitimacy of a research project and its 'objective' and 'scientific' nature (Meth & Malaza 2003). Yet 'emotional labour' is, as Hubbard et al. (2001) in reference to Hochschild (1983) suggest, central to doing social research (see also Holland 2007). As I stated in the previous chapter, there is now a growing awareness within geography that 'emotions matter', and this is similarly the case when doing research (Davidson et al. 2009). Emotions shape the interests we have to start with, the research encounters, the relationships we form, the data we generate and the knowledge we gain. As Widdowfield (2000) makes clear, emotions should play a central part of reflexive research practice, and through taking extensive notes throughout the data collection and beyond, I tried to continuously record reflections on emotions shaping my research encounters. Moreover as feminist researchers have increasingly pointed to, the researchers' emotions can form an important part of the learning in the field. Hubbard et al. in this context speak of 'emotionally-sensed knowledge' (2001:121), arguing that emotions contribute to understanding and knowledge. While I do not wish to get caught up in 'navel gazing' (Davies et al. 2014) and privilege my own views over those of participants (Widdowfield 2000), I have included reflections on my own emotions when this was relevant to the research question itself.

3.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I provided a detailed account of the research process underlying this research. I described the research location and the diverse group of participants involved, explored each research method employed in detail, accounted for the process of data analysis and concluded by taking a closer look at some of the most important ethical considerations shaping this research. As has become clear, this study did not aim to be representative for all young refugees, but rather offers an in-depth and exploratory account of spatially and temporally situated experiences of a

particular group of young people. However, with this chapter I aimed at showing the validity and rigour of this research project (see Baxter & Eyles 1997), which was based on 18 months of participant observation, 30 individual and five group interviews, and three participatory projects - overall including sixty young people.

I have employed multiple methods to enable me to compensate for some of the shortcomings of each methodological approach, as well as providing important affirmation of findings reached through each individual method (Silverman 2006). This research stretched over more than a year and consequently was able to take into consideration changes over time in young people's lives. I have furthermore engaged in reflexive practice throughout the research process, reflecting and reviewing methods employed and reflecting on observations and insights gained with research participants and service providers (see Ritchie et al. 2003). In this chapter I have also provided an insight into the process of data analysis, illustrating the careful and systematic approach I have taken, which stretched over almost two years. Having set out the methods underlying this research, I will now move on to discuss the findings gained through this research project.

Chapter 4

Establishing the context: National politics of belonging and barriers to feelings of being 'at home'



Photographs 9 'Abstract' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

4.1 Introduction

When I met Apo for the first time he was still going through the asylum process. He talked little about his experiences at the time, however, when at one of the social events organised for young refugees participants were asked to draw pictures of themselves, Apo's image told a lot about his feelings in this context. The drawing depicted Apo as a tiny figure sitting on a chair, towered over by a much larger standing figure representing the Home Office official. The vulnerability expressed in this image was only one aspect of the difficulties Apo experienced in his first few months living in Glasgow. Being placed in temporary hotel accommodation, the young man had a strong sense of isolation. In addition he felt that the financial support he received was barely enough to cover his basic needs and by no means enabled him to live an enjoyable life. Reflecting on this in our interview Apo remarked: "You know, if David Cameron comes, I give him like, 50 pounds and say - go spend it! Yeah, of course, I am a young guy, I like to go out in the weekends, I would like to go to the cinema and do something for myself, but you can't do nothing."

When Apo finally was granted leave to remain, things started to change. He soon stopped coming to the refugee project and from what I knew he was going to college and working part-time and - so I thought - was finally able to establish a sense of being 'at home' in the city. I was thus surprised that when I met Apo again for our interview a large part of the conversation revolved around the challenges Apo still experienced living in Glasgow. Before we even started the interview Apo pointed outside the window at a block of flats that was currently taken down, and commented "And I can't get a house... for two years I have been waiting!" For him the fact that high-rises were being demolished while people like him were unable to access social housing made little sense. Apo at the time was living in supported accommodation for young refugees, a space in which he felt little 'at home'. The plethora of rules governing the space and a constant sense of surveillance meant that Apo was desperate to move into his own home. Yet what featured most strongly in our interview was a sense of exclusion Apo felt living in Glasgow. As Muslim and 'immigrant' he felt somewhat 'unwanted':

But (Scottish people) don't wanna be with us, they don't wanna be around us. They feel we came to this country, you know, I don't know, how to explain it. As you know, Burma that's what happened, they attacked the Muslims and stuff, they want to kick them out, because they think they are gonna get more,

they grow inside the country.⁴⁸ I feel the people are like this, they think we come to take this country or their land from them.

Apo's sense of exclusion was exacerbated by not having been able to establish relationships with "Scottish people": "I would like to have Scottish friends as well, to know how is it, you know, being friends with them and stuff, but still no, I couldn't get any friend." That he had been unable to build friendships had a strong emotional impact on the young man: "You know, it's maybe shame for me, or I don't know what. Because if I say two years I live here, and still I don't have one Scottish friend (...) It's kind of weird you know."

In this first chapter I explore barriers young refugees faced in developing a sense of belonging to their new environment. Apo's experiences already illustrate some of the difficulties young people encountered; arriving in the UK, Apo was confronted with an adversarial asylum system and legal, economic and social marginalisation. Yet even when being granted refugee status, the young man struggled with experiences of racism and prejudices pertaining to immigrant, Muslim and racialised 'Others', as well as a lack of opportunities to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow.⁴⁹ In demonstrating the barriers and challenges young people faced, this chapter sets the context for the subsequent two chapters in which I explore the ways in which young people tried to carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging in tension with these limiting circumstances. Taken together the three chapters illustrate the ambivalence of young people's belongings at the intersection of an exclusionary politics of belonging and an embodied and emotional sense of being 'at home' emerging on the basis of everyday practices of home making and community building.

This chapter focuses on three major impediments to young people's ability to develop a feeling of being 'at home' in their new surroundings. I begin by considering hegemonic discourses of belonging that exclude certain bodies and identities from an imagined national 'community'. Focusing on the everyday, I discuss both a sense of visibility permeating young people's daily lives, as well as somewhat intangible experiences of racism marking their experiences in quotidian spaces such as college,

⁴⁸ At the time of our interview the attacks against Muslims in Burma featured strongly on the news; see for example: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/11/burma-buddhists-jailed-mob-attacks> (01.07.2015)

⁴⁹ Young people would use the terms "Scottish people" or "Scottish friends", terms I thus also employ when quoting young people; otherwise I mostly use the phrase 'more long-term residents of Glasgow'.

the street or the bus. While predominantly concentrating on embodied and affective experiences of belonging and the everyday effects of hegemonic discourses of national belonging, I also draw attention to the ways in which these limited young people's ability to claim belonging to their new environment.

Following from this the second part of the chapter accounts for the impact of a lack of formalised belonging on young people's ability to feel 'at home' in Glasgow, rendering visible the everyday effects of the asylum system and housing policies on young people's sense of belonging. I demonstrate how policies aimed at (young) refugees affected all elements of a feeling of being 'at home' - a sense of comfort, safety, familiarity, agency and community. I thereby draw particular attention to the ways in which these policies impacted on young people's home making practices, as well as routines and practices effectuated by particular policies that could lead to a sense of un-homeliness for young people.

In the third and final subsection I discuss the effects of being categorised as 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees' on young people's social networks, highlighting the limited nature of everyday spaces of encounter available to young refugees living in Glasgow - in particular with more long-term residents of the city. This is shown to have an impact on young people's sense of belonging in regards to their new social environment, as well as leading to a dependency - especially of 'adult' young people - on 'communities' with other migrants and refugees. In conclusion I draw all of these different strands together, summarising the ways in which they influenced young people's sense of belonging living in Glasgow.

4.2 The effects of exclusionary discourses of national belonging

In this first subsection I focus on how hegemonic discourses of national belonging impacted on young refugees' experiences living in Glasgow. As I discussed previously, Scotland has often been constructed as more welcoming than its English counterpart and, as de Lima (2005) argues, has for a long time been imagined as somewhat devoid of racism (see also Penrose & Howard 2008). Researchers have also pointed to the complexities of belonging experienced by established ethnic minorities in Scotland and the relative fluidity of the concept of Scottishness compared to notions of Englishness (see Hopkins 2007, Virdee et al. 2006). However, as I demonstrate below, certain markers of identity remain highly powerful in defining national belonging. Moreover for young people participating in this research, the intersection of bodily markers of 'difference' with immigration status

further exacerbated a sense of not being able to belong fully. Focusing on the everyday in the following I show the deeply affective and embodied effects of exclusionary discourses of belonging, exploring both a sense of visibility and a feeling of being somewhat 'out of place' (Cresswell 1996) permeating young people's lives, as well as experiences of 'everyday racism' (Essed 1991).

4.2.1 Embodied markers of 'difference' I - Racialisation

I want to begin this section by recounting an incident that occurred during one of the residential weekends I participated in. Unlike previous trips on this occasion our group had to share the space with other young people, amongst others a group of young scouts. When on our first evening we were about to enter the dining area, one of the young men in the group suddenly declared that he would not join us since he was "not hungry". I knew how passionate the young man was about food, and thus probed again and again why he refused to come with us. The young man finally admitted that he did not want to enter the dining hall while the scouts, young children of primary school age, were still finishing their meals. The children, he told me, might have never seen a "black person" before and could feel "scared" seeing him and the others in the group.

This short account illustrates the sense of visibility permeating young people's experiences in particular social and spatial contexts. It reflects the deeply embodied and affective nature of a feeling of being 'out of place', as well as the potential impact of this feeling on young people's use of certain spaces - the young man as a consequence decided not to enter the room shared with a group of white children. While not all of the young people taking part in this research had internalised racist discourses to the same extent as this young man had, a sense of being somewhat 'different' still permeated the everyday lives of young people who were marked as 'non-white' or - as I explore further below - religious 'Others'.

While a sense of visibility depended on particular spatial and social contexts, young people overall perceived Scotland as an essentially 'white' country, as Cecil's (19-21, Western Africa) comments show: "When I came here first time, because I didn't know, like, it was my first time to come to a country with a lot of white people and other things, so I felt a bit like, what to say, I felt like an outsider. It wasn't my place exactly." For the young man being surrounded by "white people" felt intimidating to start with and young people would often contrast Scotland with England, which they felt was more ethnically diverse; as Apo for example commented, in England he was

surrounded by more “your-style people” than in Scotland: “Asian people, Pakistani, blacks and other things”.

While Glasgow to some extent felt more diverse to the young people than other parts of Scotland, there still remained a sense of visibility for young people in particular social or spatial contexts. Selina (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example talked about feeling particular visible in “posh areas” of Glasgow, like the Westend of the city, or when being in public with a white family, as she recounted in the following: “Yeah (*laughs*), I can say myself, they are staring at me quite a lot if they see me with them white and I am wearing scarf and the way we are doing things together. So it was like, a wee bit shocked, you can see the way that they are looking at us.” Selina’s comments reflect the intersection of different social identities in marking belonging; her experiences were shaped by ‘race’ and religion (as I explore further below), as well as class. Moreover the young woman was aware of the strong emotional reaction her appearance could evoke in others, similar to the young man described above who knew that he could be perceived as somewhat “scary” by young children (see also Nayak 2011).

Young people not only reflected on situations in which they were made to feel ‘out of place’ as a result of the gaze of others, but also due to constant questions regarding their ‘home-countries’ - which again was connected to physical markers of ‘difference’. In the following group discussion Sack (19-21), JayZ and Cash (both 15-18), all from Western Africa, discussed continuously being confronted with the question ‘Where are you from?’

JayZ: Yeah yeah, it’s just... a part of me is just like - why the hell do you want to know...

Sack: Yeah, yeah, sometimes you don’t feel like... I think you are right, you are right. It depends on the way and the circumstances, if someone just sees you and asks you where you’re from I think sometimes...

JayZ: Sometimes you’re like is it ‘cause I’m black...

Sack: Yeah.

JayZ: Or is it ‘cause of the way I dress. (...) This boy once asks me - where are you from - and my friend was standing next to me and my friend goes to the guy: ‘You racist bastard! (*laughs*) Are you asking him that because he’s black!’

(...)

Cash: You know like in (town) they’d be like ‘Where’re you from?’ Or they’d just be like ‘How long are you here for?’

Jo: They would really ask that?!

Cash: No, no, they don’t mean it (...) they are just - are you here for holiday, they think you are here for holiday, so they ask - how long are you here for,

they don't mean it in a bad way, I find it funny, so I'm like - Oh, I stay here - Oh really? - Yeehess...

As the young men's discussion shows, the repeated questions regarding young people's origin served as a reminder of limitations to their belonging. Their skin colour marked them as somewhat 'different' - as immigrants or tourists. While the young men shrugged off these experiences, and Cash claimed to "find it funny", the repeated questions regarding young people's countries of origin reflect the continued salience of Scottishness as based on Whiteness. As I will now turn to discuss, it was not only processes of racialisation that marked young people as 'different', but also religious markers of belonging.

4.2.2 Embodied markers of 'difference' II - Religion

While Muslims have, as I set out previously, formed a significant part of Scotland's population for a long time, most notably due to the existence of a considerable population of Scottish people with Pakistani heritage, Scotland is still perceived as essentially Christian country - also by the young people taking part in this research. As Nabas (19-21, Southern Asia) for example commented, he felt that in Scotland people were "one hundred percent mostly they are Christian". While most young Muslims felt able to practice their religion living in Glasgow - for example by going to the mosque or by being able to access prayer rooms at their college, many reflected on a sense of visibility and feeling somewhat 'different' when displaying religious markers of belonging in public. This was most notably the case for young Muslim women wearing the *hijab*.

As past research has shown, the *hijab* is a highly politically and socially charged item of clothing (see Dwyer 1999a, 1999b, McGinty 2014, Secor 2002). Tarlo (2007) points out that, while its meaning is subject to constant negotiations, the *hijab* is heavily shaped by dominant 'Western' discourses of oppression, victimhood and tradition. Young Muslim women participating in this research were highly aware of negative stereotypes pertaining to Muslim 'Others' when choosing to display religious markers of belonging. When I asked Cutie (15-18, Eastern Africa) about wearing the *hijab* in Glasgow, the young woman answered: "You know, sometimes they think, why does she wear it. Or they think you are a bad person because you are wearing a scarf. I think it's a bad interpretation." A sense of potential misrecognition could thereby be exacerbated by current geopolitics; Mhairi (15-18, Eastern Africa) for

example talked about feeling weary of wearing her headscarf in public after the murder of Lee Rigby⁵⁰ - she was afraid of being perceived as a 'terrorist' herself.

As a way to become less visible and escape being marked as 'not belonging' young Muslim women would often choose to adapt their clothing style to particular social and spatial contexts, thus at times purposefully trying to escape the symbolic burden of the veil (see Gökarıksel 2009, Tarlo 2007).⁵¹ However, as Hopkins (2004) shows in his research with young Muslim men in Scotland, not only dress choice or - in the case of men - beards or prayer caps mark someone as Muslim 'Other', but the colour of one's skin can also be read as a marker of religious identity. Thus even if deciding not to wear particular items of clothing, young people could still be perceived as Muslim and ethnic 'Others', as Apo's narrative below further illustrates. I had asked the young man whether he would wear "traditional clothes" in Glasgow, for example when going to the mosque on a Friday:

I can't, the people, I feel they watch you like, I am gonna be too nervous if people look at me too much, I don't want to be too much in attention inside the town, or too much, I want to be a bit missy, not too much under eyes (*laughs*). Especially if you wear these clothes it's not something people see too much, so yeah, the people watch you, where does he come from, who is this guy?

However, when Apo tried to become more "missy" by wearing "Western clothes", he still could not escape being identified as 'Other':

But the people think we came here for making money... for example they see you like this: Look at him, maybe in his country he didn't have food to eat, but he has nice clothes here, nice shoes here, you know, always put gel in his hair and stuff like this. (...) But the people they don't know about us, they are kind of afraid, they think, as you know, the Muslim have the most trouble.

Wearing "nice clothes" and putting "gel in his hair", rather than making Apo blend in, made him even more suspicious; he was still seen as religious 'Other' as well as an economic migrant who "came here for making money". Imaginaries of the Muslim 'Other' are hence impossible to uncouple from processes of racialisation. Even when wearing "Western clothes", young people like Apo were conspicuous simply on the basis of the colour of their skin, which marked them as both Muslims and immigrants. A sense of visibility based on racialised and religious markers of belonging thus not

⁵⁰ The British soldier Lee Rigby was killed in London on 22 May 2013 by two young men who had converted to Islam and justified the attack with the killings of Muslims by the British army.

⁵¹ As I discuss in the subsequent chapter, many young women taking part in this research also enjoyed being able to experiment with different clothing styles and this "bit of freedom", as one young woman commented, could play an important role for their sense of belonging in Glasgow.

only impacted on young people's everyday lives, but also served as a reminder of the contingent and tentative nature of young people's belonging to Scotland. This was, as I will now turn to explore, further exacerbated by everyday experiences of racism and discrimination.

4.2.3 'Everyday racism'

Research with young refugees has repeatedly emphasised the issue of racism experienced by this group of young people (see Arshad 1999, Cunningham-Burley and King 2008, Save the Children 2004), and similarly participants of this research were frequently exposed to racist assault and harassment - especially young men. However, I suggest that racism not only manifested itself in these incidents, but also shaped young people's everyday lives in less tangible ways. Whereas young people would often downplay experiences of racist assaults as one-off experiences, relating these to alcoholism or the lack of education of individual others (see also Chahal & Julienne 1999), an intangible sense of being treated somewhat 'differently' for many was more difficult to shake off.

In discussing these experiences I am influenced by the concept of 'everyday racism' coined by Essed (1991, 2002) in the early 90s. For the scholar 'everyday racism' consists of small acts that might seem irrelevant as singular events, yet become 'racist' in the act of repetition. The focus thereby lies on participants' interpretations of experiences as 'racist', and the ways in which these are 'interpreted and evaluated against the background of earlier personal experiences, vicarious experiences, and general knowledge of racism in society' (1991:8). The aim is thus to valorise participants' subjective experiences, rather than to 'objectively' establish whether individual incidents amounted to racism. Similar to Noble's research with migrants, I suggest that seemingly banal acts could lead to young refugees feeling 'increasingly uncomfortable in their everyday worlds as a result of these actions' (2005:112). In this section I show how everyday experiences of racism impacted on young people's ability to feel 'at home' in Glasgow.

In our interview Apo talked at length about experiences of racism that were somewhat intangible, yet strongly shaped his everyday life - for example teenagers laughing behind him in the bus, who he felt were making fun of him, or not being

allowed to enter a nightclub, an incident he talked about in detail:

I hate going to the club now as well, for example I am going to some club they don't allow you. You dress nice, you have... you know why? Why? Another young guy, a *Scottish boy* behind me, goes inside. Why do you tell me I can't go inside? You know it's like killing me, and I don't want to try it, I feel like that time like a shit, many young boys standing there, everyone goes inside, but they tell me you can't go inside. Why? (...) Because everybody likes, when people like me come here, they would like to try the clubs and stuff and how it is, because we didn't try this a lot in our country, the people there don't like it. (...) But you like going to the club for example somewhere, they just tell me you can't go inside. I say what's the reason, you just tell me, give me a reason, give me a good excuse (...) They say not tonight, tonight is not for you or you go in another night. They say not tonight. Another night I try, they do the same job to me, I say another night I came here and they told me not tonight, now I came here again you say 'No' - so what's the reason? They don't tell you anything and obviously I can't do any trouble there, like fighting and stuff, so you just leave. And your night, your mood goes, you feel shit for a week maybe.

Apo felt treated differently than others; he felt that while he was barred from entering, "everyone" else was allowed to enter the nightclub - most notably the "Scottish boy" behind him. Similarly other young people reflected on everyday experiences of racism, for example commenting on people talking about them loudly in the bus when wearing a headscarf - like Cutie who I quoted above, the bus driver ignoring their waving at the bus stop, security staff watching them closely in shops, or the police repeatedly stopping and searching them. Similarly Bob (15-18, Northern Africa) felt discriminated against by his teacher:

Yeah, even before that, there is one teacher you know, she cannot tell me or show me anything racist, but I realise if someone is hiding something from me, you can understand it. With his talk and his movement, you can know them. Because of that I didn't want to be angry you know. Because of some people, you know, because of that I left it because it made me crazy, you know.

Before coming to the UK, Bob had lived in Italy for several months, where he had encountered more extreme forms of racism - for example seeing signs in shop-windows that told him that Africans were not welcome. His experiences in Scotland were measured against those previous experiences, and the subtle signs he felt his teacher showed, the "talk and movement", for him felt like a continuation of these experiences. What was central about these incidents was not the question whether they were 'in fact' based on racist intention, but that they strongly impacted on young people's everyday lives and their sense of belonging in Glasgow. Hopkins and Smith suggest: 'The fact that some of these racist activities are banal or 'low-level',

routinised, not overtly hateful, and not even at the forefront of people's mind for much of the time, does not mean they cause no-one to suffer' (2008:104). As Apo's and Bob's narratives show, both young men were strongly affected by the incidents and both subsequently decided to stay away from the spaces in which they had felt discriminated against - Bob stopped attending college and Apo decided to stay at home at night rather than attempting to go to nightclubs. Moreover these experiences had a strong emotional effect, with Apo commenting that "it's killing me" and Bob feeling that it made him "crazy".

The emotional impact of these incidents was thereby exacerbated by a sense of powerlessness young people often felt in these situations. This was due to the intangible nature of these incidents, but also based on young people's sense of having little right to challenge experiences of exclusion. Samuel (22-25, Southern Asia) for example recounted an incident in which a person, who seemed to be under the influence of alcohol, repeatedly approached him while he was sitting on a bench on a public square, asking him again and again where he was from and why he was in Scotland. Samuel patiently explained his situation every single time; he felt that he owed the other, who was Scottish, an explanation for his presence. The young man also talked about a fellow passenger in the bus, who he had asked to stop smoking because of his asthma, shouting at him: "Shut up black hair, black hair, you are not Scottish". Instead of challenging the other Samuel got off the bus, and when I asked him why, he answered: "I can't do nothing because this is not my country." Similarly JayZ (15-18, Western Africa), when reflecting on a group interview in which we had talked about the young men's experiences of racism, commented that it was futile to complain about these experiences, since after all "this country belongs to white people". A feeling of having little right to stand up against experiences of racism was even stronger for those young people still going through the asylum process. Ade (22-25, Western Africa) for example commented: "If you have no paper now someone can just come to you on the street and bully you."

In sum in this first subsection I explored the effects of hegemonic discourses of belonging on young refugees' lives. I have shown the deeply embodied and affective nature of these experiences - the sense of visibility and of being 'out of place' permeating young people's experiences in particular spaces. While discussing incidents of everyday racism in a separate part of the section, the line between these experiences is blurry - could, as one young person suggested above, the constant

questioning about one's "home country" not also be seen as a form of racism? In this section I have furthermore discussed the strong impact of experiences of everyday racism on young people's emotions and affects. I have drawn attention to the ways in which racist incidents shaped young people's daily lives and quotidian spaces - such as the bus, the street or shops - as well as influencing young people's use of these spaces, for example resulting in the avoidance of certain places. I concluded this section by suggesting that hegemonic discourses of belonging not only impacted on young people's everyday experiences, but also on their ability to claim belonging to their new surroundings more generally. Here I pointed in particular to the intersection of racialised and religious identities with immigration status as limiting for young people's ability to claim belonging to Scotland and to challenge experiences of racism and exclusion.

4.3 Barriers to developing a sense of being 'at home'

While in the previous section I looked at the impact of hegemonic discourses of national belonging on young refugees' everyday lives and their ability to claim belonging to their new surroundings, in this subsection I explore how being classified as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' and 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' affected young people's sense of homeliness in Glasgow. A particular focus thereby lies on a sense of safety, which, as I set out previously, forms a central element of a feeling of being 'at home' (see Hage 1997, Noble 2005). Young people taking part in this research often had to flee violent and insecure living conditions, and safety and security therefore played a particularly significant role for their notions of home. This for example becomes clear in Ade's (22-25, Western Africa) comments: "Everywhere is home, the place you can feel safe, you can feel so protected and so comfortable, I think that's the place you need to call a home". Similarly Solav (22-25, Southern Asia) felt that "wherever you can live safe, that's like your home, that's your home actually". For young people participating in this research, Scotland and the UK felt relatively safe in comparison to their countries of origin, they would often contrast the violence they had experienced previously with the relative protection they felt the "government" and the "laws" in Scotland provided. However, as I will discuss below, a sense of safety and homeliness was of tentative and contingent nature for those still in the asylum system. Furthermore, as I explore in the remainder of the subsection, housing policies regarding asylum seekers and refugees strongly impacted on young people's ability to feel safe and 'at home' in Glasgow.

4.3.1 The impact of the asylum system

About half of those participating in this research were still awaiting decisions on their asylum claims at the time of our first encounter. As ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ many others furthermore had been granted discretionary leave to remain and therefore only a temporary form of settlement. As previous research has shown, the uncertainty of young people’s futures has a strong impact on their emotional wellbeing and ability to feel ‘at home’ (see Chase et al. 2008, Hopkins & Hill 2006). While for young people Scotland overall felt relatively safe, a sense of security often remained contingent and tentative, as Aleeza’s (22-25, Southern Asia) comments show: “As long as we are here, we feel safe, but we don’t know about the future, if we are here or not - we are talking about *now*.” At the time of our interview Aleeza was still in the asylum process and she felt relatively safe for the time being, yet for many other young people still awaiting the outcome of their claims, a sense of insecurity permeated their everyday lives. Participants of this research talked about not being able to sleep or eat, having recurrent nightmares, headaches, or even experiencing panic attacks. For young people whose claims had been refused this sense of insecurity was even stronger, as Bilal (15-18, Southern Asia) commented: “When I go to sleep, I have the fear to be deported, even in the morning, when I get up I am afraid.”

Moreover negotiating an adverse asylum system young people overall often felt that they little control over their own lives. This not only affected their sense of safety, but also a feeling of possibility - a further important building block of ‘home’ according to Hage (1997). A young man from Western Africa, who was interviewed for a film promoting the work of a local project for young refugees, for example answered when being asked about his ‘dream’ for the future:

I try not to dream... That sounds weird, doesn’t it? But I try not to dream because I feel like every time you try to dream or anything like that, you are only setting yourself up for just being knocked down again. There is no point in dreaming because, stuff you dream about, it’s just a fairy tale. For example I could sit here and dream and dream and dream, but when you are not in control of your own life you can’t really say what’s going to happen, so what’s the point of dreaming?

The young man at the time of this interview was still going through the asylum system and felt so disempowered that he could not even imagine his future. Similarly Musa (22-25, Western Africa), who I had asked whether he could see Scotland becoming his home, answered: “I shouldn’t answer this question because for now I

don't have the right to stay, so I don't need to think about this." Not having the right to stay for Musa equalled not having the right to even imagine a future in the country.

All of this not only impacted on young people's sense of belonging whilst going through the system, but could also have more long-term effects. When I asked Gray (15-18, Southern Africa), who had been granted refugee status several months prior to our interview, whether there was anything negative about Glasgow he wanted to talk about, he only answered: "The Home Office". As Thomas et al. (2004) argue, the asylum system itself can be traumatic for refugee children, and some young people taking part in this research felt little relief or joy when finally being granted status. The long battles they had fought to be granted leave to remain often left their mark and continued to affect their sense of being 'at home' in Scotland (see also Mulvey 2013).

4.3.2 'Un-homely' homes and neighbourhoods

In this second section I focus on the effects of policies regarding 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' and 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' on young people's sense of being 'at home' in Glasgow. As Mulvey argues, refugees in Scotland are 'effectively being asked to integrate into poverty' (2013:137). Having limited financial means affected all aspects of young people's experiences of home; as Apo's comments at the outset of this chapter illustrated, their opportunities to access leisure activities for example were highly restricted. While limited access to welfare support and economic insecurity played an important role in young refugees' lives, in the following I focus in particular on the housing situation for young people, since firstly this featured most strongly in our interviews, and secondly homes and neighbourhoods played a central role in young people's everyday lives.

As past research has shown, housing policies represent major impediments for young refugees to feel safe and 'at home' in their new environment (see Chase et al. 2008, Sirriyeh 2013, Spicer 2008). Research carried out in Scotland has pointed out the issue of asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow predominantly being housed in areas of multiple deprivation (Sim and Bowes 2007, Wren 2007). The narratives of young people taking part in this research similarly reflected their everyday reality of having to live in areas deeply affected by poverty. In our conversations about their respective neighbourhoods, young people repeatedly expressed their surprise at seeing large numbers of "junkies", "drunk people" and "homeless people" on the streets. Especially the figure of the former featured strongly in these narratives and

young people seemed to struggle to reconcile the image of those addicted to drugs and living on the street with their previous imaginations of life in the UK and Europe.

Being housed in relatively deprived areas of Glasgow could have strong implications for young people's ability to feel 'at home' in their respective neighbourhoods. In many interviews young people reflected on witnessing violence, drug taking or alcoholism close to their homes. Rihanna and Julia (both 15-18, Eastern Africa) for example remarked through their interpreter: "They have been not comfortable with the place they sit, they stay. See they stay on top of a, you know these stores and bars, liquor stores and pubs and there is a lot of noise and fights, especially the weekends they get a lot of fights." Aside from witnessing violence, young people talked about themselves becoming the target of abuse and harassment in their neighbourhoods. Patience (19-21, Western Africa) for example recounted being spat at when passing by a group of young people and similarly Nazar (19-21, Southern Asia) talked at length about being attacked by a young couple in his local neighbourhood. As a consequence young people frequently stated that they would often remain at home in order to, as Ade (22-25, Western Africa) remarked, "stay away from trouble". As past research has shown, this is a strategy frequently adopted by those fearing racism and abuse (see Cahill 2000, Chahal & Julienne 1999, Hopkins & Smith 2008) and especially young women like Ade or Patience often decided to take refuge in their homes.

In addition to predominantly being housed in areas of multiple deprivation, young people participating in this research were frequently accommodated in areas that were relatively far from the city centre - such as Easterhouse or Shettleston. Young people, unless they were able to access bus passes on the basis of attending college regularly, struggled to afford public transport and as a consequence young people's mobility was often highly limited. This for many contributed to the need to spend their time at home and to a sense of social isolation (see also below).

Young refugees' homes, however, did not necessarily provide a 'safe' and comfortable space for young people. Whether their accommodation offered a feeling of safety and homeliness was strongly influenced by young people's age. Previous research has repeatedly criticised the housing of refugee children in temporary accommodation (see Hopkins & Hill 2006, Kidane 2001, Chase et al. 2008). At the time of this research 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' could still experience short periods of living in temporary accommodation, yet they were generally housed

in supported living, or in the case of very few young people, with foster families.⁵²

These forms of accommodation generally offered good living standards, as well as high levels of support, as Ferhan (15-18, Southern Asia) for example remarked: "If we have any problems at night time or things like that staff are also available here to help us and things like that." Similarly Gray, when asked where in Glasgow he felt most 'at home', remarked that it was the accommodation for young refugees he lived in that was the place he felt most comfortable in. For the two young men and many others the support by staff and the sense of safety they felt living in supported accommodation enabled a feeling of being 'at home' - although there were notable exceptions I return to below.

For (those perceived as) adult asylum seekers the situation was, however, very different. Housing provided to these young people was often of poor quality and seldom seemed to enable a sense of safety and homeliness. Being accommodated in high-rises, which was the case for many young people, could feel particularly un-homely, also since this for many young people represented a highly unfamiliar way of living. Patience for example remarked: "First of all I was really scared (...), now I am just lying down, and I think I am on the first floor, because if I have to think I am on the 21st floor, maybe I would try to..." For Patience her 'home' felt highly unsafe, especially during a time in which she was struggling with the asylum process. When I talked to Samir (15-18, Southern Asia), an 'age disputed' young person, about his living conditions, he similarly commented on a sense of un-homeliness he experienced, remarking: "My flat is a house, but not a home". When he first arrived in Glasgow the young man was accommodated in a flat equipped with nothing that enabled him to keep himself occupied. Samir had no television or radio and with the local library not having any books in his language and Samir not being able to afford a telephone with which he could access the internet, there was nothing for him to do but to pace from one room to the other, as he told me. After this initial flat Samir was moved several times, which again made it difficult for the young man to familiarise and 'home' his new surroundings. Samir was by no means alone with these

⁵² At the time of this research only one young person lived in foster care. She was one of the few young people expressing a strong sense of belonging to Glasgow and Scotland. Unfortunately it lies beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this in more detail, yet living with a family she was incredibly fond of and who treated her like a family-member, and being able to go to school had enabled the young woman to feel as if she had been „born in Scotland“.

experiences; many young people taking part in this research talked about being moved frequently.

At the same time it was difficult for young people to be moved of their own will. 'Adult' asylum seekers had no choice in terms of where they wanted to live or who they lived with. As single asylum seekers they had to share their accommodation with others who they often had nothing in common with aside from their gender. While at times friendships could emerge, more often sharing with strangers limited young people's ability to feel 'at home' in their homes, something Sirriyeh (2013) similarly encountered in her own research with young refugee women. Having to share with strangers could interfere with young people's efforts to re-create familiar patterns of living; a young man from Afghanistan for example felt upset about his flatmate's refusal to take off his shoes in their shared accommodation, something that would have been unthinkable for the young man in his country of origin and felt highly 'un-homely'.

More importantly, sharing with others could impact on young people's sense of safety. The same young man felt incredibly insecure in his flat since he could not lock the door of his room and he consequently carried all his valuables with him every single time he left his accommodation. Again Tuan (15-18, South Eastern Asia), who had been 'age disputed', shared his flat with an older man whose mental health had been strongly affected by the asylum system and who on several occasions attacked objects in the flat, screaming in fits of rage. Tuan, unable to communicate with the other, could not know whether he would also become the target of these outbreaks and was left feeling highly unsafe. Similarly another 'age disputed' young man talked about feeling unsafe due to his flatmate taking drugs, drinking alcohol and bringing strangers into their shared home. The young man was desperate to be moved, yet was told by accommodation providers that he would have to file a formal complaint with the police if he wanted to be allocated new accommodation. Not wanting to affect the other's asylum claim by involving the police, the young man decided to remain in the flat he felt incredibly unsafe in.

4.3.3 The 'un-homeliness' of institutional living spaces

As discussed above, for many 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' supported accommodation offered a sense of protection and safety; however, for some young people high levels of monitoring and surveillance structuring life in these spaces could have a negative effect on their sense of homeliness. For Hage (1997) a sense

of agency plays a central role in feeling 'safe' and 'at home' and as I discuss below, the lack of control some young people felt they had in supported accommodation could limit their sense of belonging in these spaces - something that was also the case for young refugees living in temporary homeless accommodation. These heavily regulated spaces furthermore impacted on young people's ability to engage in home making practices, as well as effectuating everyday practices that could conjure a sense of un-homeliness. In the following Lamin (15-18, Western Africa) recounted his experiences of first arriving in supported accommodation:

Because the first day they showed me the screen, see Lamin, we see you when you are coming, and I say: Why do you see me, why are you looking at me? So I start asking the staff, so when I am in my house - do you see me? When you people are in the office here? And they say - No, in your house we can't see you (*laughs*). So in the room, this fire alarm thing, that day I was standing there, on top of that I was looking at it, this thing... What is it?! (*laughs*) I tell you, maybe this is a camera, these people can see me (*laughs*) man, in my room, so I don't know... (...) Because that place they took me there, but I don't know, this time maybe my imagination, maybe this place is a prison because everywhere is, you can't go up without seeing people so it's more security. Because even when you come to enter you press the button, they open for you and when you leave they take the key. For me I don't know, because I never lived in places like that, that is the first time, so me I sometimes, when we are chatting we can observe - maybe we are in a small prison, I don't know. They can come and take us.

Having just arrived in Glasgow, Lamin struggled to read the heavily controlled space he found himself in as a 'safe' space - on the contrary, the ubiquitous cameras and security personnel increased Lamin's sense of insecurity. The cameras that surrounded him made him unsure whether he was monitored even in his own room - as he commented in the extract above, he took a closer look at the smoke detector, suspecting it to also be a camera. He was not sure, he remarked, whether he was in a "small prison". Measures that were put in place in order to offer protection and safety for those living in the space, for Lamin thus had the opposite effect and not being allowed to keep a key to his own flat further increased a sense of 'un-homeliness'. Lamin's last comment in particular reflects the level of insecurity the young man felt - he was afraid that "They can come and take us".

Lamin was not the only young person comparing supported accommodation to living in a "prison". Bilal (15-18, Southern Asia) for example also remarked:

It is like a prison, like a jail. Now I've got my own home, it's so much better, now I can go anywhere I want (...) When I was in (supported accommodation) I couldn't bring my friends there, sometimes when I was allowed I brought friends, only one or two, but at 10 pm they had to go.

As Bilal's comments show, the multitude of rules governing everyday life for some young people strongly affected their sense of comfort and agency in supported accommodation. The rules, as young people commented, determined who was allowed to visit and at what times, they decided which rooms visitors could access and regulated the use of the space by the inhabitants themselves. Young people talked about not being allowed to have more than two visitors at a time and visitors not being able to stay overnight or to enter common areas. These heavily regulated spaces thereby created the necessity for young people to engage in everyday routines that could feel highly un-homely - such as having to check in and out of their accommodation and having to leave their keys behind.

The situation was even more challenging for young people over the age of 18 who had been granted leave to remain. As I described previously, those granted status consequently had to move out of NASS accommodation and had to register as 'homeless' if they intended to stay in Glasgow. Young people participating in this research spoke about being provided with temporary accommodation - mostly in the form of hostels, where they would then at times spend several months waiting for long-term accommodation. Hostel accommodation, much like the reception centre described by van der Horst (2004), was based on pure functionality, providing nothing but bare essentials. Participants of this study talked about a sense of 'un-homeliness' they felt in this context and the impossibility to lead 'normal' lives in these spaces. Chidi's (15-18, Eastern Africa) and Nawzad's (19-21, Southern Asia) stories illustrate this further:

Very difficult... Because in homeless they don't allow friends and they have a lot of rules. Like you can, the last to go outside is at five, no sorry, eleven. It's the last to go outside of the project, you must stay inside. (...) And you can't cook because of the alarm, the smoke alarm, smoke set of the alarm so we can't cook. You can't, if you want to cook you have to open all the windows and in winter time it's cold inside, so it's hard. Yeah. Because it sets off the alarm, because for young people, because some people use drugs. (Chidi)

It's like a *prison*, I don't happy there. (...) I have to go back every night, I am not allowed to stay outside, I am not allowed to do nothing. I have to, because other people are living with me I have to respect him and don't do nothing like that, anything. I am not allowed to bring anyone in my room, no one (...) just I am allowed to be there. (Nawzad)

Again, as described above, living spaces in which young people had little sense of ownership and agency were experienced as highly 'un-homely'. Sharing with strangers, some of which "use drugs", not being allowed visitors and having to

adhere to a plethora of rules made living in these spaces incredibly challenging for young people. Furthermore these heavily regulated spaces impacted on young people's ability to engage in home making practices, which I explore in the subsequent chapters. Relying on take-away food was not only expensive, but also took away the possibility for young people to establish a sense of home on the basis of preparing and consuming familiar foods. Similarly restrictions regarding who young people were able to invite to their homes - also in the case of supported accommodation discussed above - impacted on their ability to re-create familiar patterns of social interaction with others.

In sum in this second subsection I have explored the effects of the asylum system and housing policies on young refugees' everyday experiences of being 'at home' in Glasgow. I have discussed how a sense of safety for young people was limited by the uncertainty and lack of control they experienced negotiating the asylum process, as well as by being housed in areas of multiple deprivation and - especially in the case of 'adult' young people - in low quality accommodation shared with strangers. This was shown to also impact on young people's ability to re-create familiar patterns of living. Similarly I demonstrated how the heavily regulated space of institutional accommodation could impact on young people's ability to engage in home making practices. Furthermore I suggested that these spaces effectuated everyday routines that could be experienced as highly un-homely by young people.

4.4 Social marginalisation

As I set out in Chapter 2, Antonsich (2010) sees relational factors as a central element of belonging, and similarly for Hage (1997) 'community' represents one of four building blocks of 'home'. In this last subsection I discuss how being categorised as 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees' could impact on young people's ability to establish a sense of community in Glasgow. For most young people taking part in this study it was difficult to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Scotland; Apo, who I quoted at the outset of this chapter, for example commented:

I have Kurdish friends here (...) I have black friend here, I have another country, different race, different stuff... like I would like to have Scottish friends as well, to know how is it, you know, being friends with them and stuff, but still no, I couldn't get any friend, no.

Apo, like many other young people repeatedly stressed his wish to establish relationships with "Scottish people", since "mixing with them" would mean that he would be "more busy and you don't feel too much alone in home". In this subsection I

explore some of the barriers young people faced in this context. I begin by suggesting that as ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘refugees’ young people taking part in this research had a limited range of everyday spaces available to them in which they could meet and interact with more long-term residents of Glasgow. In the second part I then discuss the implications of this; firstly the resulting limitations for young people’s sense of ‘community’ in regards to their new social surroundings, and secondly an overall dependence - especially of ‘adult’ young people - on networks with other migrants and refugees, who were similarly marginalised.

4.4.1 A lack of everyday spaces of encounter

When I asked Apo why he had been unable to find any “Scottish friends”, the young man at first mused: “If I was like body builder, like Mr. Muscle, maybe I would have three, four, five people around myself”, and then added, “or maybe I didn’t look in the right place”. Yet, as I discuss in this section, it was difficult for young people like Apo to “look in the right place”. Participants of this study, most notably (those perceived as) adult young people, had limited access to spaces in which they could meet and interact with others on an ongoing basis. As I explore below, everyday spaces available to young people were predominantly shared with other migrants and refugees and young people therefore had little opportunity to encounter more long-term residents of Glasgow. In my discussion of spaces of encounter available to young refugees I refer to Amin’s (2002) concept of ‘micro-publics’. For Amin ‘micro-publics’ are spaces in which engagement of people across ethnic differences becomes necessary, in the words of Les Back who he cites, spaces in which “prosaic negotiations” are compulsory’ (969). Micro-publics are usually spaces that are part of people’s quotidian lives, marked by ongoing and continuous interaction with others, such as schools, colleges, residential units or sports clubs. In the following I take a closer look at the potential of these everyday spaces for facilitating interactions of young people with more long-term residents of Glasgow, showing the limitations young people faced in this context.

To begin with, accommodation provided little opportunity for young refugees to establish relationships with “Scottish people” - with the notable exception of foster care, which only one young person was able to access at the time of this research. ‘Adult’ asylum seekers, however, either shared their homes with other asylum seekers or, in the case of two young mothers, were allocated their own flat. While some young people mentioned “friendly neighbours” in our interviews, many young

people felt insecure in their local areas and thus chose to spend most of their time inside their homes. Again ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ were predominantly housed in supported accommodation with other refugee children. Yet even in accommodation projects providing for both refugees as well as Scottish born young people, relationships were often, much like the spaces themselves, highly regulated. Cutie (15-18, Eastern Africa) in our interview for example reflected on a system of spatial segregation operating within her accommodation project. Young refugees like herself, she explained, were accommodated in a different part of the building than Scottish born young people, who she described in the following way: “who fight, other kids, they get drunk, do bad stuff, you know.” Again Tu (15-18, South Eastern Asia) was the only young person with a refugee background in the residential unit he lived in. In our interview the young man commented on staff advising him not to interact with the other young people following what he referred to as an incident of “vandalism”:

He said it wasn’t directed at him, it was a sudden burst of anger (...) But he said it’s totally understandable, because they are there, because of their own particular story, they have a reason to be there. So it’s understandable they act that way. Initially he had the chance to interact with them but eventually the staff warned him not to interact on a regular basis with these kids because it was not good for him.

Tu was warned about engaging with those he shared his accommodation with, and while this request was based on an attempt to protect the young man, this also meant that he felt even more isolated and lonely in the space he lived in. In addition to illustrating the lack of opportunities for young refugees to interact with more long-term residents of Scotland, these examples again raise the issue of *who* young people are ‘integrated’ with. They found themselves in spaces with others who similarly experienced social exclusion, albeit in different ways. As with housing in areas of multiple deprivation, young refugees accommodated in supported accommodation were integrated into a particular social segment of the society.

Past research has repeatedly stressed the significance of school for young refugees’ sense of belonging and ability to establish social networks (see for example Arnot, Candappa & Pinson 2010, Chase et al 2008, Hek 2005). Only three young people taking part in this research were able to attend school at the time of this research. For these young people school could indeed play a central role in enabling a sense of community, as Selina (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example commented: “My school friends, I have very very close, we can meet every week, every week we meet each

other with my school friends, so I have close friends!” It is important to note, however, that simply being in school did not suffice. As Allport (1954) stresses, institutional support can make an important contribution to facilitating cross-cultural interaction and for Selina the support she received from teachers and allocated ‘buddies’ played a key role in enabling a sense of belonging. A second young person participating in this research, who had received little support from this school, remained feeling isolated and eventually decided to move on to college, where he could be with “other refugees”.

The majority of young refugees taking part in this research were (assessed as being) older than 16 and thus went to college - although they sometimes had to wait several months or even years before they were able to access college. Since young people predominantly attended ESOL classes they had little opportunity to engage with “Scottish people”, as Apo commented:

Jo: And at college there is no opportunity for meeting Scottish?

Apo: No, because at college as well, (...) you are studying with same people from different countries, there are no Scottish people studying in elementary or in English courses, so it's like two sides. This side is all Asian, one side is all Scottish and we don't mix together, you know. (...) For example that time I went to college it was very busy, we are all Kurdish all in one side, Afghani one side, Paki - the Pakistani one side and you see all Scottish one side, nobody comes - hey what's up guys, or anything.

It is not surprising that young people who attended ESOL classes at college would find themselves in an environment with other migrants. However, even outside the classroom setting colleges provided little joint projects for young people in which they could interact with Scottish born young people. It is furthermore central to note that young people participating in this research, whose levels of English proficiency were high - for example young people who had grown up in countries in which English was an official language - were often by default placed in ESOL classes rather than in mainstream courses (see also McDonald 1998).

Lastly, leisure spaces seldom provided an opportunity for young people to interact with others - and in particular with more long-term residents of Glasgow. To begin with young people had limited financial means to access leisure activities, as Apo's quote at the outset of this chapter illustrated. As Candappa and Igbinigie (2003) assert, young refugees often struggle financially and are thus unable to afford the leisure activities their peers engage in. Similarly for young people participating in this research covering a five-pound contribution for each football match or buying football

boots was often impossible to afford - especially for young people living of NASS support or who were destitute. Young people moreover frequently found it easier to join teams that were already made up by players with a migrant or refugee background. These teams tended to be more flexible in terms of admitting new members, asking for either small or no financial contributions and at times allowed players to attend without owning sports gear, such as football boots.

Yet even if leisure activities could be accessed for free, young people who had arrived in Scotland recently were mostly unaware of these opportunities and relied on information provided by others. They thereby often depended on other young refugees, who themselves had limited knowledge of services and opportunities available (see Crozier & Davis 2006). In some cases staff working with young people, especially those working with 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', would support young people in accessing free leisure activities (see also Wells 2011). However, the day-to-day work of service providers predominantly focused on more pressing issues and staff thus had limited capacity to assist young people in this context. Overall, while some young people did participate in sports or leisure activities despite all of these barriers, young people taking part in this research would often tend to spend most of their spare time at home, or - as I will discuss in the subsequent chapter - would choose to 'hang out' in public spaces.

4.4.2 The impact on young refugees' 'communities'

As I have set out above, young people taking part in this study had limited access to everyday spaces of encounter with more long-term residents of Glasgow. In conclusion I want to draw attention to two important implications of the discussion so far. First of all, the barriers young people faced in accessing spaces of encounter meant that most interactions with "Scottish" others took place in public spaces. Some of these interactions - despite being of predominantly superficial and fleeting nature - could lead to what Wise (2005) refers to as 'hopeful intercultural encounters' with more long-term residents of Glasgow. Young people would for example remark on sharing jokes with others at bus stops, or being shown the way - as Nabas (19-21, Southern Asia) recounted:

(T)he other day I went to hospital. I met a very old woman and I asked her about the place I needed to go to and she just grabbed the paper from my hand and took me to the place. That was a very nice feeling, when she didn't just say something to me or pushed me away. She just took me and (...) that's why I would say the people here are nice.

While seemingly banal everyday experiences could have a positive effect on young people's sense of belonging in Glasgow, public spaces - unlike the 'micro-publics' described by Amin (2002) - seldom provided an opportunity for continuous and ongoing interactions with others. For Apo "Scottish people", who he only encountered in public, thus remained somewhat distant and were, he felt, uninterested in establishing relationships with him: "The people sitting inside the bus, if you start talking, they don't want to talk. They sit in their own corner, hiding themselves." This perception was influenced by Apo's previous experiences of everyday racism and a sense of not being wanted in Scotland - as he had commented in the quote placed at the beginning of this chapter: "(Scottish people) don't wanna be with us, they don't wanna be around us." While not all of the young people shared Apo's pessimistic view of "Scottish people", a lack of spaces of ongoing and continuous interaction (also in combination with language barriers) meant that many struggled to find ways to approach others. They were thus often unable to establish lasting relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow and to develop a sense of belonging in regards to their new social environment.

Furthermore being unable to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow, in concurrence with an experience of overall economic and legal marginalisation, meant that many young people participating in this study predominantly relied on networks with other migrants and refugees; this was especially the case for (those perceived as) adult asylum seekers, who received little formal support. Yet being made up by members who were similarly marginalised, these networks were of relatively fragile and unstable nature. Over the course of my fieldwork I could witness friendship groups crumble under the pressures of the asylum system, with young people having to go underground when their asylum claims were refused, or those granted leave to remain having to move to England to find employment, or having to negotiate issues such as homelessness and the pressures of the welfare system and thus becoming too busy to engage with their friends. The asylum system and the marginalisation experienced by refugees in Scotland thus both created the need for these groups (see also Zetter et al. 2005), as well as having a corrosive effect on these networks.

In sum in this third subsection I discussed how being categorised as 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees' could impact on young people's sense of community living in Glasgow. In addition to barriers posed by housing policies or experiences of everyday racism

discussed above, I have explored how limited access to spaces of continuous and ongoing encounter with others shaped young people's ability to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow. I have suggested that this impacted both on their sense of belonging to their new social environment, as well as exacerbating an overall dependency - especially in the case of 'adult' young people - on networks with other migrants and refugees, with whom they shared most of their everyday spaces.

4.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have accounted for the limitations young refugees faced in developing a sense of belonging in Glasgow. While the chapter has covered a whole range of issues, they all go back to the same point of origin - the construction of a national community based on particular markers of identity. As immigrants, as Muslim and racialised 'Others' young people faced several barriers in their ability to develop a sense of belonging, both through hegemonic discourses of national belonging, as well as through a lack of formalised belonging and citizenship rights. I began this chapter by discussing the impact of the former on young people's lives. I showed the deeply embodied and affective nature of these experiences when exploring a sense of visibility and being 'out of place' permeating young people's everyday lives. While this chapter has predominantly focused on the everyday effects of hegemonic discourses of belonging, I have also highlighted the ways in which the continued salience of Whiteness and Christianity in the construction of Scottishness (Penrose & Howard 2008) impacted on young refugees' ability to claim belonging to Scotland. Unlike members of more long-term ethnic minority groups in Scotland, as for example studied by Hopkins (2007) and Virdee et al. (2006), as racialised and religious 'Others' and as 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees', these young people seldom felt that they had the right to claim belonging to Scotland and to challenge experiences of exclusion.

Exploring belonging through the lens of the everyday I furthermore accounted for the ways in which exclusionary politics of belonging influenced what kind of quotidian spaces young people could access and the relationships they could establish in these, as well as their emotional and affective experiences in these spaces. I thereby took into consideration a range of different spaces - from young people's homes and neighbourhoods to public spaces. In doing so I demonstrated how a lack of formalised belonging and hegemonic discourses of belonging influenced all 'affective

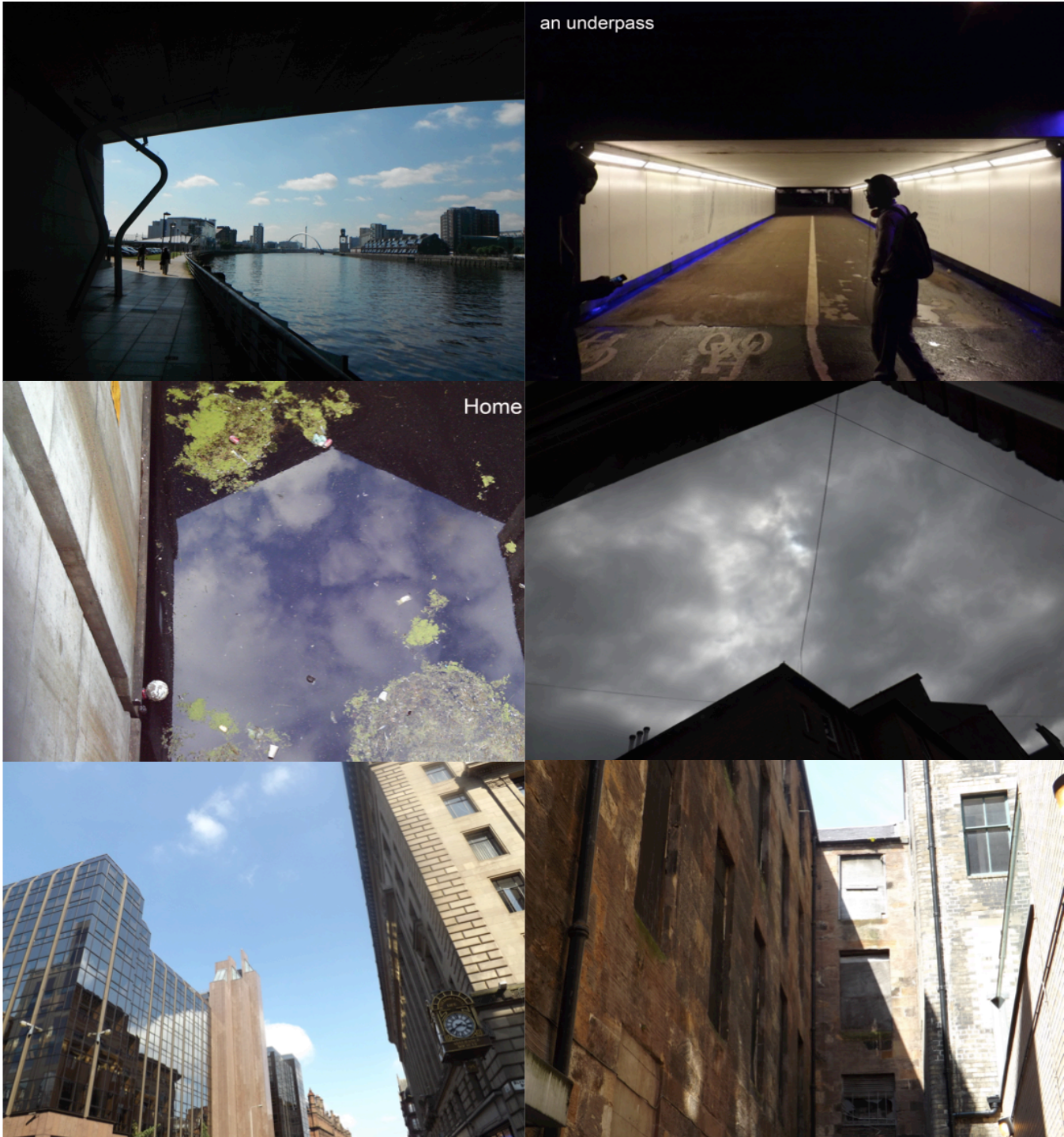
building blocks' of home - feelings of comfort, safety, possibility, familiarity and community. I discussed a sense of insecurity stemming from young people's experiences of the asylum system, inadequate housing in areas of multiple deprivation, and incidents of (everyday) racism. As Hage (1997) and Fenster (2005) argue, agency and a feeling of having a choice and possibility, are central elements of a sense of being 'at home' and throughout this chapter I have drawn attention to the ways in which young people's agency was limited through being categorised as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' or 'children'. Recognising the importance of choice and agency for a sense of safety and homeliness, I could moreover demonstrate how measures put into place to render certain spaces 'safe', could on the contrary lead to a sense of 'un-homeliness' in institutional living spaces. At the same time I showed how these heavily regulated spaces effectuated everyday routines that could feel un-homely for many young people.

In addition in this chapter I explored the ways in which being categorised as 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees' impacted on young people's social networks and sense of 'community'. I argued that participants of this study had limited access to spaces in which they could interact with others on a daily basis and since everyday spaces accessible to them were mostly shared with other migrants and refugees, they faced barriers in establishing relationships and a sense of community with more long-term residents of Glasgow. I further suggested that this - in concurrence with the experience of legal and economic marginalisation - meant that participants of this study, and in particular 'adult' young people, were often dependent on networks with other migrants and refugees who were similarly marginalised.

Lastly, in this chapter I highlighted how policies aimed at 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees' could impact on young people's ability to develop a sense of familiarity and habitual knowledge of their new surroundings. In the subsequent chapters I will explore home making practices young people engaged in, yet this chapter set an important context by illustrating the challenges young people faced in appropriating and familiarising their new environment. I for example demonstrated how institutional living spaces could limit young people's opportunities to cook 'homely' foods or to socialise with others in familiar ways. Similarly living in areas experienced as insecure or incidents of racism and harassment were shown to have an impact on young people's ability to explore and appropriate their new surroundings. Together with the subsequent two chapters, this chapter accounts for the complex and

ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow, showing the constant tension between exclusionary politics of belonging and young people's attempts to carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging.

Chapter 5
'Homing' Glasgow I - Carving out spaces of belonging



Photographs 10 'Home' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

5.1 Introduction

I began the previous chapter with a summary of the many challenges Apo faced living in Glasgow. Yet Apo's experiences of belonging were far more complex than the chapter might have suggested and as I will now turn to discuss, despite the difficulties he experienced, Apo had also developed a strong sense of attachment to his new surroundings. This became particularly apparent when in our interview Apo recounted a recent attempt to move to England. Having lived in Scotland for almost two years, the young man felt that he had somewhat reached a dead end and when his friends in England offered to accommodate and help him find employment, he immediately jumped at the opportunity and set out to join his friends. Arriving in England he was, Apo remarked, at first thrilled by the sunny weather and that he was surrounded by "your-style people", namely - "Asian people, Pakistani, blacks and other things". Enjoying being with his friends and being able to get a tan in the sunshine, Apo decided to stay: "I said, I am not going to go back to Glasgow anymore, I am going to stay here!" However, as he recounted laughingly, a few days later he started to miss Glasgow:

Five days something come around my mind, about Glasgow, about weather, about people. Sad a little bit. Six days going, yeah, some memory coming to my mind about Scotland, seven days - I say I am gonna come back to Glasgow! I can't anymore, honestly I bought the ticket for three o'clock at night. I came back to Glasgow at three o'clock at night!

Arriving back in Glasgow, Apo felt relieved: "I feel more comfortable here, when I got back to Glasgow I am saying - Aaah, I am coming back, baby!" The city, the young man commented, had become a "second home" and he felt unable to move away: "I can't leave it, honestly. I want to go more, because I don't like cold weather, and my face changes⁵³ (...) I want to move, but I can't." When I asked Apo what had made him feel 'at home' Glasgow, the young man answered that he simply had gotten "used to" the city; compared to when he arrived, when he had felt like a "new-born baby", he now knew "the language and how to live here".

Like Apo many young people taking part in this study commented on having gotten "used to" Glasgow and, getting more and more familiar with their surroundings, the city slowly becoming home. While the phrase getting "used to" might suggest passivity, in this chapter I wish to show the efforts young people invested in 'homing'

⁵³ Apo was referring to not being able to get a tan in Scotland.

(Ahmed et al. 2003) their new environment. Young people's comments thereby highlighted the importance of time for processes of home making; they talked about Glasgow "step by step", "little by little" and "slowly, slowly" becoming a home. As I set out previously, for Felski (1999-2000) the everyday is a deeply temporal matter, and she in particular emphasises the repetitive nature of our daily lives. Highmore further points out that 'everything can become everyday, everything can become ordinary' (2011:19) and in this chapter I wish to explore the daily routines and practices that enabled a sense of familiarity and being 'at home' for young people participating in this study.

Again focusing on affective building blocks of home (see Hage 1997), in this chapter I set out the ways in which young people attempted to carve out 'homely' spaces - spaces of comfort, safety, community and familiarity. I draw particular attention to the affective and embodied nature of experiences of belonging, in reference to de Certeau (2011 [1984]) and Fenster (2005) exploring everyday routines and practices underlying feelings of being 'at home'. As Fenster points out, a sense of familiarity and belonging emerges from both short-term memories created through daily routines, as well as more long-term memories of home. Similarly scholars engaging with notions of home in the context of migration have emphasised the significance of memories of past homes in creating a feeling of belonging in the present (see Blunt & Dowling 2006, Brah 1996, Fortier 1999). Blunt (2003) in this context has coined the term 'productive nostalgia', illustrating how memories of the past, rather than simply representing mourning for one's lost home, carry important meanings for the present as well as the future. In this chapter I explore young people's home making practices, accounting for both the creation of new memories of home through embodied everyday practices, as well as practices of 'homing' based on long-term memories of previous experiences of belonging. As the previous chapter has shown, these practices are thereby in constant tension with exclusionary politics of belonging shaping young people's daily lives.

I begin this chapter by focusing on how young people appropriated and familiarised their new surroundings on the basis of seemingly banal daily routines and practices. I thereby also draw attention to the ways in which processes of familiarisation were not only individual endeavours, but could be facilitated by young people's social networks. Having discussed a sense of belonging emerging from short-term (embodied) memories, in the remainder of the chapter I illustrate the significance of

long-term memories of past belongings in creating a sense of being 'at home' in the present. Firstly I explore the ways in which young refugees mapped previous homely spaces onto their current environments in an attempt to establish a sense of continuity and familiarity. In the final part of the chapter I then consider everyday home making practices in the context of religion and food, which similarly invoked previous experiences of being 'at home'. I thereby add to prior research with young refugees by showing these practices as dynamic and subject to change rather than simply reproducing prior experiences of belonging, and in doing so I illustrate the transformative and creative potential of the everyday.

5.2 Appropriating and familiarising space

In this first part of the chapter I look at the ways in which young people familiarised and appropriated their new spatial surroundings. In reference to de Certeau (2011 [1984]) and Fenster (2005) I emphasise the importance of seemingly banal everyday practices in enabling a sense of belonging. The example of walking thereby illustrates the deeply embodied and affective nature of belonging emerging on the basis of daily routines and practices. I conclude by discussing how social networks could provide important support for young people to develop 'habitual knowledge' (Hage 1997) of their new environment.

5.2.1 *Everyday practices of spatial appropriation*

I want to begin this section by returning to Apo's account of attempting to move to England, which I have started to explore at the outset of this chapter. As I discussed above, Apo had enjoyed the weather in England, that he could finally "brown" his face again, and that he was surrounded by more "your-style people". Yet still the young man had come back to Glasgow and when I asked Apo why he had decided to return, he answered:

I don't know, I just feel like because I learned how to live, the language, the people and the stuff, I feel more comfortable here (...) Of course it was my first time to be in England, it was my first time so a little different. I know here, for example, with my imagination I can see most of the streets, most, anywhere, whatever I can see it in my mind because I walked two months around Glasgow, so I know most places. But in there is a new start, I don't like it, a new start, new start. I already left all my life there, I studied, all everything for nothing and I started here a new life, so if I go there I have to start again (...) I don't want to do this again. It's not easy, so I started here and I am gonna stay here, the streets, the bus, bus numbers, trains, the people, the shops, everything, because I don't wanna leave here. I know more people here, if something happens I can get more support as well. (...) So I think knowing the place, how to go there, I know where is safe for me, where it's not safe (...)

about the times, for example I know what time is my bus coming, when I get outside the home. Everything, you know.

Lamin (15-18, Western Africa), who like Apo had been asked by a friend to move to England, provided a similar rationale for staying in Glasgow:

My friend Mohamed (who lives in England) used to tell me - are you going to stay here (in Glasgow)? (...) And I said - I am not going anywhere, I stay here... Are you sure? Yeah? But it's very cold, it's very cold, and I said - I don't mind, it's okay, man, because *I got used to here, here is the only place I know*. I think I will stay here.

As Apo's rich quote illustrates, the young man's sense of belonging in Glasgow emerged from the habitual knowledge and understanding of his environment - the phrase "I know" is repeated six times in this short paragraph. Both Lamin and Apo felt a strong sense of belonging based on the fact that they had become familiar with Glasgow - "knowing" the city and knowing how to negotiate everyday life. Elements of everyday life that have become natural for those living in a place for a long time, had to slowly be acquired by young refugees like Apo and Lamin. Aside from having learned the language, Apo talked about knowing which shops to go to, which busses and trains to take, how to interact with others in his surroundings - in short, as he commented, knowing "how to live". As Felski suggests, everyday routines can 'strengthen, comfort and provide meaning' (1999-2000:28). Aspects of everyday life that may feel repetitive and boring for those having lived in Glasgow for a long time, for young people like Apo could thus enable a sense of comfort and home.

Apo's narrative furthermore reflects the importance of space for his sense of belonging to Glasgow. While the phrase "I know" also refers to social networks ("I know more people"), it predominantly relates to the young man's spatial surroundings; Apo remarked that he knew "here", "the place", "most places", or "where it's safe". He had slowly appropriated the urban space surrounding him. In his mind, Apo commented, he could picture most of Glasgow, and similarly other young people spoke about the importance of being familiar with and knowing their spatial surroundings. Bilal (15-18, Southern Asia) for example claimed that he knew "the entire Glasgow, I know every single area of Glasgow". Both young men's remarks reflect the importance of mobility for their ability to 'home' their new surroundings. However, as I explored in the previous chapter, young people's spatial radius of everyday life was often limited due to not being able to afford public transport and being housed relatively far from the city centre. For these young people walking

could provide a way to familiarise and appropriate their new surroundings - although it is important to note that this was especially the case for young men, who often felt safer in negotiating public spaces. As Apo's comments show, his knowledge of Glasgow had been built over the course of time through exploring the city - most notably through walking "two months around Glasgow". As I discussed previously, for Fenster 'the intimate corporal experiences of everyday walking' (2005:243) are central in enabling a sense of belonging. De Certeau (2011 [1984]) in this context speaks of 'pedestrian speech acts', comparing urban systems to language systems; he perceives the act of walking as a process of appropriation of this topographical system - the spatial 'acting out' of place. While for many young people financial restrictions resulted in a small spatial radius of everyday life, others - especially young men - walked great distances by foot in their daily lives.

This was also reflected in Bob's (15-18, Northern Africa) photo diary. Bob was one of the few participants of the 'Our Glasgow' photography project who not only fulfilled the tasks we had set in the project, but also took photographs documenting his everyday life. The images offer valuable insights into Bob's experiences, for example showing gatherings with friends in his home and Glasgow's George Square (see below), but also contain depictions of Bob's explorations of his urban surroundings. The photographs overleaf (Photographs 11) reflect the distances Bob covered every single day. Interestingly most of the streets seem eerily empty, which again shows that asylum seekers in Glasgow were not only housed in areas of multiple deprivation, but also often in relatively sparsely populated and remote areas of the city. As with Apo, Bob's feelings of belonging were highly ambivalent. On the one hand he was strongly affected by everyday experiences of racism and discrimination and in many ways felt little 'at home' in Glasgow. Yet at the same time, again like Apo, the young man had developed a deep sense of belonging to the city - also on the basis of having appropriated his new surroundings through walking.



Photographs 11 'Bob's photo diary' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

Lastly a sense of familiarity can, as Hage (1997) highlights, enable a feeling of safety and security. Noble (2005) in this context speaks of migrants' sense of 'comfort' - referring to a sense of trust in one's environment emerging from knowing and understanding one's social and spatial surroundings. Giddens (1991) furthermore stresses the importance of everyday practices in enabling a sense of 'ontological security' in everyday life. Similarly for young people taking part in this research developing habitual knowledge of their new environment enabled them to feel a degree of safety and homeliness in their new surroundings. Apo above talked about feeling "comfortable" in Glasgow, and as with Noble's concept of 'comfort' this was related to a sense of safety emerging from having familiarised his new surroundings: "I know around the place, when I go home, or when I go somewhere, I know where it's safe, or I go walk, or I get taxi or bus, which one is safer for me, I know it." Other young people similarly talked about having developed knowledge of how to navigate neighbourhoods that felt somewhat unsafe, by for example choosing particular paths or not being outside at particular times. Alexander (2008) in her research with young people in Newcastle also points to the importance of young people's 'street literacy' (Cahill 2000) in developing a sense of safety and belonging. For young men, who would often feel more comfortable and safer exploring Glasgow by foot, a degree of 'street literacy' was thereby more easily attainable than for young women. However, social networks could enable young women to appropriate their new surroundings in the company of others. As I will now move on to discuss, everyday processes and practices of familiarisation were not only individual endeavours, but could be facilitated by networks with other migrants and refugees.

5.2.2 Refugee networks and processes of familiarisation

When Apo talked about "knowing" Glasgow, he also stated: "I know more people here, if something happens I can get more support as well." In the subsequent chapter I take a closer look at how young people carved out 'communities' of belonging in Glasgow, yet in the context of this current chapter, it is important to note that young refugees provided valuable support to each other in familiarising and developing 'habitual knowledge' of their new environment. In the following quotes participants reflected on helping each other to navigate their new surroundings:

(My friends) used to even show me, you know sometimes when my (support worker) or my guardian were not coming, they used to show me shops, you know when they go to Lidl they take me, even to use money, Katherine used to tell me 'one pound' like that. Even when we were walking on the road she would tell me 'tree', 'house'! (Cutie, 15-18, Eastern Africa)

Even us friends helped with so many things, like you, Cutie - I was staying with her in the same flat. I didn't know how to use the things in the flat, to go to town, to use the bus, to speak, she used to write for me some English words so I can learn. That helped me. (Amina, 15-18, Eastern Africa)

He didn't know the town at all. So when he made friends, that's how, they used to show him around, take him everywhere, that's how eventually I got to know the ways. (Nazar, 19-21, Southern Asia, through an interpreter who switched between the first and third person pronoun)

(When I met Eric) we start to talk, talk, talk. Because he is new, he needed help, people to show him around, this kind of thing. Because I remember when I came here the first time, I didn't have someone with me with my age, every time I go outside to show me the place, I didn't have that. So I say, with him, he is my little brother, he is younger than me. So I say for the beginning it was a bit difficult, so that's why every time we are always together and I show him the place, I help him how he needs to behave with other people, how, these kind of things. (Julien, 19-21, Western Africa)

As the above comments illustrate, young people helped each other to familiarise and to thus appropriate their new environment. Similar to the previous section the quotes above reflect the centrality of seemingly banal everyday practices in enabling a sense of belonging and home. Young people remarked upon learning how to use the bus, how to distinguish between different coins or how to go shopping. Amina's remarks illustrate how the support she received spanned different scales, from help in navigating the city to understanding how to use "things in my flat". Coming from a rural area in Eastern Africa living in a modern flat in a high-rise building felt unfamiliar and intimidating to the young woman, something her friend Cutie helped her to understand and cope with. As both Amina's and Cutie's comments show, young people furthermore supported each other in learning English. As I stated previously, young people frequently spent long periods of time waiting for college places and furthermore had little opportunity to engage with more long-term residents of Glasgow; relationships with other refugees therefore could represent important resources for young people's language acquisition. In the light of a lack of engagements with 'Scottish' others, other refugees could also, as Julien's remarks show, act as 'cultural brokers', explaining how to navigate their social surroundings - how to "behave with other people". It is important to note in this context, however, that for 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' a whole range of service providers, such as guardians, social workers, key workers or case workers, provided important information and orientation (see also Wells 2011). (Those perceived as) adult asylum seekers, who had little formal support they could resort to, in their everyday lives

depended to a far greater extent on the help provided by other refugees (see also Chapter 4).

As I have suggested in this subsection, seemingly banal practices of everyday life formed a central basis for young people's sense of belonging in Glasgow. Following Fenster (2005) and de Certeau (2011 [1984]) I have explored processes of spatial appropriation and in particular an affective and embodied sense of belonging emerging from the everyday practice of walking. I have also drawn attention to the role of social networks in facilitating processes of homing and familiarisation. In the following I will now move on to illustrate the ways in which young refugees utilised memories of past homes in order to create a sense of being 'at home' in the present.

5.3 Mapping memories - Creating new spaces of belonging

As the young people's narratives above have illustrated, embodied memories played a key role in enabling feelings of belonging; through banal everyday routines and practices young people constantly familiarised their new surroundings, creating new memories of 'home'. In addition to these daily practices of appropriation, a sense of belonging was also, as Fenster (2005) suggests, connected to long-term memories of home. As I set out previously, past research has illustrated the importance of memories of previous homes for migrants' experiences of belonging in the present. In this second subsection I therefore discuss how young people familiarised and appropriated their new surroundings through mapping previous homes onto current everyday spaces, thus engaging in what Blunt (2003) has termed 'productive nostalgia'. The matching of previous homes with their current environment has received little attention in research with refugees so far, although Sirriyeh (2013) briefly alludes to similar narratives.⁵⁴ In this section I suggest that this, however, formed an important part of young refugees' processes of 'homing'. I illustrate this by considering two examples of important spaces of belonging for young men involved in this research - Glasgow's River Clyde and George Square. While focusing predominantly on the ways in which young people used their imaginations and memories to create links between different 'homely' spaces, I also take into consideration everyday practices involved in re-creating a sense of belonging in these spaces.

⁵⁴ O'Neill and Hubbard (2010) also describe a participatory art project in which refugees related their surroundings to past homes, yet they were explicitly asked to do so as part of the project.

While Adams (2009) in her research with refugee children states that participants emphasised differences between their countries of origin and the UK, young people taking part in this research in our everyday encounters would repeatedly try to link elements of their new surroundings to previous homes. This for example became apparent when Samuel (22-25, Southern Asia) claimed that fish and chips were a similarly typical dish in his country of origin, or Gray (15-18, Southern Africa) likened the kilt to items of clothing traditionally worn in his home town: "There were kilts here, men in dresses here... yeah. That wasn't actually new, in my culture they also wear (something similar). The men wear leopard skin, that's traditional, it's like a kilt." While this was a way for young people to make sense of their new environment, it also, I suggest, enabled young people to create a sense of continuity and belonging.

In a similar way young people mapped past landscapes of belonging onto their present environment; Bob (15-18, Northern Africa) for example found the "darkness of Africa" mirrored in Scotland, and when walking along the beach with Jellyfish (15-18, Eastern Africa) the young woman talked about the sky reminding her of the sky above the refugee camp she had previously lived in. For Hersh (19-21, Western Asia) elements of his environment also evoked memories of spaces that carried special meaning for him. The high-rises of Glasgow, he told me, reminded him of Istanbul, a city he loved, frequently had travelled to and one day wished to live in. Interestingly Askins (2009), who focused on the use of national parks by 'visible communities' in England, talks about similar ways in which research participants created connections between national parks and their respective countries of origin. Yet as the examples above have shown, memories for young people taking part in this research not only related to countries of origin, but also other places that had provided a sense of home in the past - such as the refugee camps they had lived in previously. This again illustrates the fluid and open nature of home and shows how people's experiences of belonging are never reducible to one single place of origin; as soon as we move - literally or in our imagination - home becomes many places, constantly evolving and changing.

5.3.1. *The River Clyde and George Square*

In the following I now want to focus more closely on two examples of young people mapping previous spaces of belonging onto spaces of their current everyday lives - namely Glasgow's River Clyde and George Square. For both Nawzad (19-21, Southern Asia) and Lamin (15-18, Western Africa) the riverside along the Clyde

evoked important memories of past homes. On a photographic exploration of Glasgow as part of the 'Our Glasgow' project, Lamin tailed behind the group and I had the unthankful task to urge the young man on. Yet when I approached Lamin, he just laughed and told me: "But it's your fault! You know I love the river, don't bring me here if you want me to hurry up!" For him, as well as Nawzad quoted below, the riverside brought about a sense of homeliness and familiarity:

I walked with Lamin along the river and he said he liked that place; it was where him and his friend always used to hang out in Glasgow, watching the river and talking. I said - You must miss him, and he said - Yes, I do. (...) He also liked the river because it reminded him of home. Back home, he said, they would have parties next to the river, meet and eat and swim in the river. He spoke longingly of his 'home'-country, of the rivers, the sea and everything - also the warm weather today reminded him of his country. (fieldnotes 19.06.2013)

Nawzad: I have a lot of rivers in my countries, and I have been swimming with people and my friends, and we always, like after 4, 5 o'clock - before that time it was hot, and after 5 o'clock it gets a little bit cold - and we are going to next to the river and we stay drinking till 1 o'clock , 2 o'clock at night and sometimes we stay there and sleep there. It's cold, too cold and sometimes we get back to home and that, I don't know, that place don't have signal for phone or something like this, I just go to big mountain, not mountain...

Jo: Hill?

Nawzad: Yeah, hill and just text my mum and stay back and that's all, because the signal was not okay, but I had to tell them, otherwise they think something happened to me.

Jo: They worried...

Nawzad: Yeah, and then we just stay in that place or something like that, that was nice, that's why I like the river.

Jo: The River Clyde...

Nawzad: Yeah, that's nice. But I am not allowed to drink when I am staying there.

The riverside for both young men held positive memories, for Lamin both long-term as well as short-term. It reminded Lamin of the first friend he had made in Glasgow, a friend who later moved to England and whose company (and cooking skills) he missed dearly. Being close to the river brought about memories of the other and the hours they had spent sitting next to the river, chatting with each other and watching the water flow past. In addition the riverside reminded Lamin of his country of origin, of meeting and celebrating with others. Similarly for Nawzad the river carried memories of past gatherings and time spent with friends. While both made clear that there were significant differences - Lamin for example later showed me images of the river in his country of origin online, comparing its size to the "very small" River Clyde and Nawzad stressed how in Glasgow unlike in his country of origin he could not

drink alcohol next to the river (or call his mother) - relating past memories to their new surroundings could lead to a sense of continuity and belonging in the present. As I will explore in more detail below, a sense of homeliness thereby not only emerged from the connections young people made between different spaces of belonging, but also from engaging in familiar 'homely' practices.

A similar 'home'-space for Nawzad and many of the other young men taking part in this research was Glasgow's George Square. As Nawzad told me in our interview: "Some like what's it called, park or somewhere is like in my city. Like George Square and other ones, look like that park in my city. (...) That's why when I am tired I come to city centre". George Square is situated at the very heart of Glasgow's city centre, surrounded by Georgian townhouses and decorated with statues of important white men such as Robert Burns or Sir Walter Scott. While Nawzad above referred to the space as a "park", the major part of the square is covered in concrete, yet it provides ample sitting space on benches positioned around the square. The photographs below were taken by Samir (15-18, Southern Asia) who I had asked to take pictures of places that were important to him for our interview; at the time the young man spent most of his spare time on one of the benches on the square, relaxing, feeding the pigeons and meeting other young refugees.



Photographs 12 'George Square' (Interviews 2012)

Like Nawzad and Samir many young men taking part in this research chose to spend their time on George Square; this depended on the weather - as the photographs above show, the square remained relatively empty when it rained. There were a number of reasons for the young men's preference of the square. First of all it simply

enabled young people like Samir who were relatively isolated to meet and establish relationships with other refugees. More importantly for this chapter, however, I suggest that the square also enabled a sense of home by bringing about memories of previous spaces of belonging. This was thereby based both on the place itself, as Nawzad suggested above, it reminded him of a “park in my city”, as well as the ways in which the square provided a space in which young people could engage in familiar practices and familiar patterns of social interaction.

Many of the young people participating in this project commented on the level of individuality and social distance they encountered amongst “Scottish people” (see also Mulvey 2013), a perception that was exacerbated by young refugees often having little opportunity to encounter and establish relationships with more long-term residents of the city, as I described in the previous chapter. Life in Scotland for the young people was, as Cutie (15-18, Eastern Africa) remarked, “more like self, you know” and many young people talked about struggling with the social distance and ‘non-relations’ (Goffman 1963) structuring life between strangers in public. A few places like George Square, however, enabled young people to re-create familiar practices of social interaction. Encounters in these spaces to some extent mirrored a communal life style based on the outdoors that felt ‘homely’ to young people (see also Leitner 2012). Lamin’s (15-18, Western Africa) reflections on the differences between life in Scotland and his country of origin illustrate this further:

You know (...) for example where I live, my house is there, I have my apartment and the other apartment, other apartment so you see the corridor, around the corridor sometimes everybody will come out and sit there and chat and drink *ataya* and things, I don’t know if you know *ataya* - it’s a small tea in glasses (...) so we will be sitting and chatting and drinking and eating and things like that, and chatting you know, but here, unless you maybe go to a park with friends, or things like that, but you don’t see like ghettos, like - maybe here they call it ghetto - people sitting outside, only the boys, sometimes you see people sitting, there are usually chairs outside the street, chatting and playing music, things like that (*laughs*). Here also I think they do but it’s different, because here what I see, people go to the park and enjoy it, I used to go to the park, I see people going there, when there is sunshine they go there and enjoy it, but for (COO) it’s very common, if you don’t have anything to do like you and your friends you will be sitting somewhere and chatting and things like that, you know.

As Lamin’s narrative shows, he had grown up in an environment where people would spend most of their time in public spaces, sitting and chatting outside their homes. Engaging in these familiar everyday practices - sitting on benches on George

Square, 'hanging out' and chatting with other refugees could therefore feel 'homely' for young people like Lamin.

When Lamin talked about "everybody" being outside he referred to "only the boys"; public life in his country of origin, a predominantly Muslim country, was dominated by a male presence and similarly public spaces such as George Square were often frequented by young male refugees from Muslim countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq or Sudan. Young women on the contrary seldom spoke about spending time in public spaces. Only Patience (19-21, Western Africa) who commented that "in my country everybody is outside, sitting outside the house and that", mentioned passing time in the semi-public space of an African shop close to her home. She would spend hours sitting in the shop, chatting to the owner and customers. The space offered a degree of safety, with Patience knowing and to some extent trusting the shopkeeper, and reminded Patience of a lifestyle she had previously experienced and was familiar with and that thus felt 'homely'.

In sum in this second subsection I have discussed how young people read and engaged with everyday spaces in ways that enabled them to connect these to memories of previous 'home'-spaces, and in doing so to at least temporarily create a sense of comfort and belonging in their new surroundings. I have mainly focused on how young people utilised memories and imaginations of previous homes in order to create a sense of belonging in Glasgow. I have, however, also highlighted the significance of engaging in familiar practices for processes of 'homing' and in the following I will explore these in more detail.

5.4 Everyday home making practices

Antonsich (2010) sees 'cultural factors' as a central element of a feeling of being 'at home'; aside from language he in particular emphasises the role of religion and food production and consumption. Matters relating to food and religion have an important everyday element and in this section I explore how young people engaged in these 'cultural' practices in order to create a sense of belonging in their daily lives. As Felski (1999-2000) suggests, the everyday, while being marked by repetition and routine, also always contains the possibility for innovation and change. Unlike Antonsich I thus draw attention to the ways in which 'cultural' practices were not simply reproductions of previous experiences of home, but were subject to change and were re-defined and modified in the new context. I begin this section by focusing on religious practices and their role in enabling a sense of being 'at home' for young

people; I then move on to explore the importance of food related practices for young people's sense of belonging in Glasgow.

5.4.1 Religious practices



Photograph 13 'Inside & outside' (photographed by the author)

Past research has shown that religion provides an important source of continuity and stability for young refugees; Sporton et al. (2006) in their study of young Somali refugees for example note that 91,9% of their respondents felt that their Muslim faith was 'important to their everyday life' (210). Similarly Mir (2007) and Ní Raghallaigh and Gilligan (2010) argue that religion provides an important framework of reference for young refugees in order to cope in times of uncertainty (see also Kohli 2011). Religion enables, Ní Raghallaigh and Gilligan suggest, young people to connect their current lives with their former experiences: '(I)n dealing with the challenges of living in a very different cultural context, religion provided continuity for the young people - continuity in terms of their relationships with God and their religious practice' (2010:232). For young people taking part in this research religious practices could also enable a sense of continuity and of being 'at home' in Glasgow, however, as I will discuss further below, these practices were subject to change and modification in their new surroundings.

Going to mosque or church for many young refugees played a central role in their everyday lives and could enable a sense of belonging. It is important to note, however, that experiences of racism and exclusion explored in the previous chapter could also occur in these spaces. Bob, a young man from Northern Africa, in our interview talked at length about feeling stared at and 'out of place' in the local mosque, which was predominantly frequented by Asian Muslims. Although his

religion was incredibly important to him, Bob eventually decided not to go to the mosque anymore and to pray at home. However, for many other young people places of worship could enable a sense of belonging. When I asked Ducky (22-25, Southern Asia) for example, where he felt most 'at home' in Glasgow, he answered: "The mosque". Patience (19-21, Western Africa) also commented that she felt particularly happy when attending the church she had found in Glasgow "cause that church is the same church my mum attend back home". Similarly being able to engage in familiar religious practices - such as praying regularly or buying and preparing *halal* food in the case of young Muslims, or adhering to periods of fasting for both young Muslims and Christians, could form an important part of young people's sense of being 'at home' in Glasgow. These practices could connect young people to previous experiences of belonging. As Mhairi (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example made clear, fasting during Ramadan reminded her of her mother, who had introduced her to the practice as a young girl. Similarly Nawzad (19-21, Southern Asia) talked about "doing Ramadan for cigarettes and alcohol" since he knew that this would have pleased his father.

Moreover clothing played a central role for young people to express and live their religious identities in Glasgow, in particular in the case of young Muslim women. The photograph I placed at the outset of this section depicts masks created by a young woman taking part in this study. The young people had been asked to paint masks that represented both their 'outside' as well as their 'inside'. For the young woman the mask on the right hand side represented her flamboyant outer appearance, while the mask on the left symbolised her inner self - showing a face covered with a *hijab*, which she felt was essential to her identity. Similarly Selina (15-18, Eastern Africa) commented: "I can wear anything, but if I am without a scarf, I say - No, I am not complete yet, so I have to put a scarf on".

Religious practices and customs could therefore play an important role for young people's sense of identity and belonging in Glasgow. However, it is important to recognise religious identities and practices as fluid and flexible, and as subject to change (see Mohammad 2013). While young people participating in this research stressed the significance religion held for their sense of self and belonging, the practices they engaged in in Scotland differed from previous ways of expressing and living their religion. Over the course of my fieldwork I for example witnessed several discussions amongst young Muslims regarding what counted as *halal* food. Did

chicken from KFC - one of young people's favourite fast food chains - count as *halal*? What about Scottish cheese - did it contain bacon and was thus *haram*? And chocolates you could buy in the supermarkets - were they *halal*? In these discussions young Muslims redefined and renegotiated the boundaries of what was acceptable. This for example also became apparent when a group of young Kurdish men discussed whether drinking alcohol in Scotland was *halal*, then concluding that it was - in contrast to taking drugs or eating pork, which remained *haram*.⁵⁵

Similarly young people's - in particular young Muslim women's - embodied expressions of religious identity changed in their new environment. While as I described in the previous chapter, hegemonic discourses of national belonging and experiences of racism and discrimination had an effect on young women's dress choices - in particular in regards to the *hijab* (see also Dwyer 1999b, Tarlo 2010) - young Muslim women taking part in this research also talked about a sense of freedom and joy they felt experimenting with different and new ways of clothing. Apart from Sadaf (15-18, Southern Asia) who had come to Scotland with her family, all other young Muslim women taking part in this research had arrived in the country on their own. These young women frequently reflected upon a relative sense of freedom they felt living in Scotland. Jellyfish (15-18, Eastern Africa) in this context for example commented:

In Africa or when you are with, like... a strict Muslim family, it's just like, they are like... Even though you don't want to do it, you just do it, because you don't have the freedom to do whatever you want. But then in Africa people wear long things and stuff and yeah... here you get a bit, you get a bit of freedom.

As Jellyfish remarked, she felt that she had a "bit of freedom" living in Scotland. Over the course of my fieldwork I could witness how young Muslim women taking part in this research played with different styles of clothing and ways of covering their hair. While most young women wore long skirts and tightly fixed *hijabs* when arriving in Glasgow, many would later experiment with wearing mini skirts or shorts with leggings, and trousers. *Hijabs* similarly became looser and changed, as a young

⁵⁵ This interpretation of alcohol as being acceptable for the young men also has to be seen in the context of their current situation. Through spending time with the young people and talking to service providers I discovered that many of the young men used alcohol as a way of dealing with isolation and depression. Drinking alcohol was thus not simply a life style choice and a matter of experimenting with new possibilities and freedom, but also a way of coping with the difficulties and hardship these young men faced.

woman taking part in this research commented in an interview for the Refugee Week Scotland brochure:

The clothes I wear are part of my heritage and make me who I am. I love life in Scotland but I still wear clothes from my country - I just make them a bit more stylish! The scarves I wear now are more colourful and looser than those I used to wear. When I first came to Scotland I used to dress mainly in black. Now I have a selection of colourful scarves - I can't stop buying them!⁵⁶

In addition to playing with colours and accessories such as hairpins, young women would also at times decide to substitute the *hijab* with other forms of headwear. The young woman whose masks I discussed above, despite feeling that the *hijab* was a central marker of her identity, at times chose to wear a woollen hat instead; another young woman decided that baseball caps represented a valid alternative for wearing a headscarf. Young Muslim women thus stretched and re-defined the boundaries of what they had learned were appropriate and pious ways of dressing for young women, experimenting with the relative freedom they felt they had in Scotland without “leaving your religion”, as Jellyfish commented. Changing religious practices thus enabled a sense of homeliness both through a sense of continuity, as well as a sense of agency and possibility deriving from the “bit of” freedom young people felt they had (see Hage 1997). In the following I will now turn to take a closer look at food related practices, which were often connected to issues of religiosity - as I discussed above, preparing and eating *halal* food for example was central to young Muslims and similarly the custom of fasting could form an important part of young people's home making practices.

⁵⁶ Refugee Week Scotland 2013 Brochure, page 18
http://issuu.com/scottishrefugeecouncil/docs/refugeeweek2013_programme (02.02.2014)

5.4.2 Food related practices



Photograph 14 'Food' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

Similar to religious practices, food production and consumption played a key role in young refugees' home making practices. Hage (1997) suggests that sensory aspects of everyday life, such as sounds, smells or tastes, are central for a sense of being 'at home'. Wilson et al. (2012) in their research on family life in the context of parental substance abuse also illustrate how young participants strategically employed sensory practices in order to carve out spaces of comfort, for example creating their own 'home' space through listening to music on headphones. Similarly the role of sensory home making practices has been emphasised in the context of research with migrants; Tolia-Kelly (2004) for example has shown how South Asian migrant women construct identities and belonging through their sensory engagement with (the materiality of) visual objects of past homes, such as photographs and paintings. Young people taking part in this research engaged in similar sensory home making practices. Over the course of my fieldwork I for example, much like Wilson et al. (2012), became aware of the importance of music; young people would frequently play music on their headphones, creating a temporary refuge from their environment surrounding them. In this section I will, however, concentrate in particular on food related practices, since firstly food was one of the topics that featured most prominently in my daily conversations with young people and secondly, like religious practices, food played a central role in young people's everyday lives.

As Petridou (2001) illustrates in her study of Greek students in London, 'home foods' can contribute to a feeling of stability and belonging, providing a sense of continuity in terms of one's identity as well as one's feeling of being 'at home' (see also Sutton 2001). The importance of 'home' foods for creating a sense of homeliness has similarly been emphasised in research with refugee children and young people (Chase et al. 2008, Hopkins and Hill 2006, Wade 2005). Kohli et al. (2001) for example suggest that being able to access foods from their countries of origin could help young people both to re-connect to their past as well as to establish a sense of home in their new environment. Important in this context, however, is not only the consumption of 'home foods', but again practices related to food production, as Hage (1997) makes clear:

Home food not only provides intimations of security in that it represents a culturally determined basic need for nutrition, it also provides a clear intimation of familiarity in that people know what to do with it, how to cook it, how to present it and how to eat it, thus promoting a multitude of homely practices.
(109)

A sense of homeliness for young people therefore not only derived from simply eating 'home' foods, but also from engaging in familiar practices of preparing food as well as practices related to food consumption, as I will return to below.

As I alluded to above, many of the conversations I had with young people during my fieldwork revolved around food; we spoke about our favourite foods from our countries of origin, the foods we missed and the foods that felt like home, shared recipes as well as bringing 'home foods' to share with each other - on several occasions young people had to eat stodgy Austrian cakes - and if words were not enough, we used the internet to show each other images of food. The majority of young people cooked on a daily basis, predominantly preparing food they were familiar with and had already eaten before coming to the UK. While most young women had grown up learning how to cook, young men often had to acquire cooking skills when arriving in Scotland. Apo for example talked about learning how to cook from his mother over the phone, and preparing Kurdish food subsequently enabled the young man to connect to the family he had left behind and to create a sense of belonging in his present environment.

Yet as with religious practices, food related practices changed over time. What counted as 'home food' was not static, but was always modified and subject to

change. This for example becomes apparent in Ferhan's (15-18, Southern Asia) reflections on visiting London:

Once I went to London (...) it was very hard, some people don't know there about *Irn Bru*! One take away I went there because I didn't know, they don't have *Irn Bru*, but they don't know the *Irn Bru*! When I take *doner* meat he says what drink would you like and I say *Irn Bru* please and he said: What?!

Young people's repertoire of items of food perceived as 'home foods' was enlarged and complemented by food items young people had started to consume in Scotland, the "rice and chicken" Alan (22-25, Southern Asia) for example referred to as his staple Kurdish food, was accompanied by a bottle of *Irn Bru*. Selina's (15-18, Eastern Africa) example illustrates this further. The young woman was the only young person accommodated in foster care at the time of this research, living with a family she felt incredibly fond of. Her foster carers made sure that Selina was able to regularly access 'home foods', as the young woman commented: "I get my African food, my auntie she bought it, sometimes she goes to African shops and gets banana, because I love banana!" However, at the same time the meals the family cooked for Selina had become an important source of belonging for the young woman. When being interviewed during our film project, she commented: "My favourite food is steak pie, I always tell my auntie to make steak pie for me, it's very delicious Scottish food. And other stuff like mashed potato. With some mince and gravy!" In the short time of living in Scotland these foods had become symbols of home for Selina - in addition to the *plantain* that she would still at times prepare for herself with the help of her Scottish "auntie". What was moreover central for Selina in enabling a sense of belonging was that everyone would eat together "like a family". In the final part of this section I thus now want to turn to consider practices of food consumption more closely.

While the importance of 'home foods' (albeit without taking into consideration the changing nature of these) has received attention in previous research with young refugees, the significance of the context in which these foods are consumed has been widely ignored. Yet commensality - the communal sharing of food - also played a central role in enabling a sense of being 'at home' for young refugees. Having grown up in countries in which food consumption was based on communally shared meals, for many young people having to eat on their own felt incredibly 'un-homely',

as Apo and Patience (19-21, Western Africa) explained:

Apo: Usually I cook, not always, no point cooking alone. I don't cook alone, I eat something out or, some cold food or stuff, but I don't cook alone. But when he is alone, the boy, his name is Feysal, I always cook or a friend, nice, you can eat it. But when you cook alone, you can't eat it home alone yourself, it's no easy eating. Many times I cook it, I make it ready, just with the smell I finish. I can't eat, so just leave the food there and go out.

Jo: Because you can't eat alone?

Apo: Yeah I can't, we didn't learn to do it. For example in my house before if the food, I used to live with my mum as well and with my uncle as well, I was most in my uncle's house, so before when the food is ready, nobody could touch the food, everybody is sitting together and start eating. Kind of this rule in the home, it's not about the food, but it's this rule in the home, nobody touches it until everybody gets together you know. Yeah. So because that I still can't eat alone.

Patience: (A) big change (living in Scotland)... we live, we eat together from one plate, everybody eats together, yeah, I don't eat. I don't take food so good, I find it difficult to eat, nobody takes their food separately. It affects me a lot, I can't eat on my own because I am used to group eating.

Jo: So what do you do?

Patience: I don't know how to help myself. Sometimes I would starve all day, not eating.

As Patience' and Apo's narratives show, for many of the young people cooking and eating on their own felt 'un-homely' and consequently a number of young people, in particular young Vietnamese and Kurdish participants of this study, decided to cook and eat together on a regular basis. Saman and Alan (both 22-25, Southern Asia) for example commented on cooking with their friends on most nights of the week, the latter remarking: "It's just Kurdish is for rice and chicken, every day (...) everyone cooks." Sharing foods with others could re-create familiar practices of food consumption and thus to some degree limit the sense of 'un-homeliness' young people experienced living in Glasgow.⁵⁷

The preparation and sharing of food with others was of particular significance for young people during festive periods such as *Ramadan* for young Muslims or Easter for young Christians. During *Ramadan* in addition to eating together young people would also share 'commensality without food' (Tierney & Ohnuki-Tierney 2012) - the communal experience of fasting. Mhairi and Selina (both 15-18, Eastern Africa) both showed me photographs of themselves sharing *Iftar* with other young people from

⁵⁷ Cooking together, especially for the young Kurds quoted above, also had practical implications, since it was also a way for young people to help each other when struggling financially or becoming destitute (see Chapter 6).

their country of origin, and similarly many of the young Kurdish or Afghan young men would break the fast and celebrate *Eid* together. These shared practices of fasting were again subject to change; when Mhairi talked about celebrating *Iftar* with others sharing the same ethnic background, she remarked that it would have been unthinkable in her country of origin for unrelated men and women to celebrate together.

However, it is important to note that many young people did not have friends with whom they could cook and eat with on a regular basis. As I have set out in the previous chapter, limited access to spaces of encounter, as well as many spending most of their spare time at home due to a sense of insecurity or not being able to afford public transport, impacted on young people's ability to develop social networks. Samir (15-18, Southern Asia) for example was unable to attend meals at the mosque during Ramadan because he could not afford the bus fare. He also did not have close friends with whom he could have celebrated. Again Patience, who I quoted above, felt insecure in her local neighbourhood and spent most of her time at home. Being relatively isolated, the only strategy for her to eat amongst others was to bring food to Chrysalis and to eat while being in the company of the others in the class.

In sum in this subsection I have illustrated how engaging in familiar everyday practices could enable a sense of continuity and belonging for young refugees living in Glasgow. Both with religious as well as food related practices I have thereby, however, shown that these were subject to change and were re-negotiated and modified in the new context.

5.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has added important nuances to the previous chapter. In exploring young people's everyday home making practices I could demonstrate the ambivalent nature of young people's experiences of home, showing the constant tension between exclusionary politics of belonging and young people's everyday attempts at carving out spaces of belonging. In this chapter I have discussed the ways in which young people participating in this study tried to 'home' their new surroundings despite the difficulties and challenges they faced. I have thereby focused on quotidian practices and routines, yet have also taken into consideration how young people used memories and imaginations of past belongings in order to create a sense of being 'at home' in their present environment.

While in the previous section I have drawn attention to everyday spaces that evoked a sense of not belonging and the ways in which everyday routines and practices could effectuate a sense of un-homeliness for young people, in this chapter I have shown how the everyday could also enable feelings of comfort and home. As Felski suggests, repetitive daily routines are central for us in order to make sense of the world and to 'stave off the threat of chaos' (1999-2000:21). We also, the scholar further suggests, establish who we are through acts of repetition and routines. As I discussed in reference to Noble (2005) and Giddens (1991) above, everyday routines and practices are key to enabling a sense of comfort and security. For young people having recently arrived in Scotland, who had experienced highly insecure conditions prior to their arrival and also faced several challenges living in the UK, everyday routines thus played a key role in enabling a feeling of being 'at home' and in re-establishing a sense of identity and belonging.

In this chapter I have highlighted both the significance of young people's slow appropriation of their new environment through embodied everyday practices, as well as home making practices linked to previous experiences of belonging. While repetition and habit were shown to be central in enabling a sense of home, I have also stressed the potentially transformative and creative character of the everyday. As Highmore (2011) suggests, creativity is always part of the ordinary, and in this chapter I have demonstrated how food related and religious home making practices were by no means conservative, but subject to change in the new environment. This was also connected to the deeply relational nature of everyday practices - what counts as ordinary and everyday differs depending on particular social and spatial contexts and therefore always has to be negotiated with others.

While focusing on everyday experiences of home in this chapter, I want to suggest that these also carried an important political dimension. As I set out in the previous chapter, young refugees seldom felt that they had the right to claim belonging to Scotland due to hegemonic discourses of national belonging and a lack of formalised belonging. Yet a focus on the everyday, as I have taken in this chapter, also reveals ways in which young people engaged in a politics of belonging in a 'quiet' way.⁵⁸ As Holloway and Hubbard (2001) assert, by making a place meaningful, we also make it belong to us in some way. When Ferhan lamented that he had not been able to drink

⁵⁸ I take inspiration for this from Askins' (2014, 2015) notion of a 'quiet politics of belonging', something I discuss in more detail in the following chapter.

Irn Bru in London, this was “very hard” because he missed his favourite drink. Yet I suggest that through stressing his preference for this quintessentially ‘Scottish’ product, the young man also claimed knowledge of and belonging to Scotland - with food practices playing an important part in the construction of ethnic or national identity (see Bell & Valentine 1997). Similarly when Selina declared steak pie as her favourite food, this represented a claim to belonging to her family, as well as expressing a claim to a degree of Scottishness. The everyday thus carried potential for young people to develop an affective sense of belonging, as well as forming the basis for - albeit almost inaudible - claims to belonging. I will come back to this in greater detail in the subsequent chapter focusing on young refugees’ sense of ‘community’ in Glasgow.

I want to conclude this chapter by further drawing attention to how practices of home making described in this chapter illustrate the contradictory effects of the asylum system. While immigration policies are aimed at deterring asylum seekers and limiting their sense of ‘comfort’ in the UK, the asylum process at the same time often stretches over several years and those waiting during this time necessarily familiarise and ‘home’ their surroundings to some extent. This is particularly the case for refugee ‘children’ who are still often granted discretionary leave (or ‘uasc leave’) until the age of 18. Schuster’s and Majidi’s (2013) research with young Afghans who had been subject to deportation showed how research participants had developed strong ties in the deporting countries and were likely to attempt re-migration, thus reflecting how little effective immigration policies aimed at the deterrence of asylum seekers are.

Chapter 6
'Homing' Glasgow II - Carving out 'communities' of belonging



Photographs 15 'Community' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

6.1 Introduction

Having explored the ways in which young people carved out spaces of belonging living in Glasgow, this chapter now adds a further important perspective by focusing on young people's experiences of belonging with others and everyday practices of 'community making'. I want to begin by again returning to Apo's experiences. When the young man first arrived in Glasgow he was entirely on his own. For the first few months Apo lived in temporary hotel accommodation and aside from appointments with lawyers, social workers and doctors he had little to do. Not knowing anyone in the city Apo felt incredibly isolated: "I lived in a hotel, there was nobody else (...) First I didn't just, I was afraid to meet new people and talking to them, you don't know anything, so just I was always alone in the hotel." As an 'unaccompanied asylum seeking child' Apo soon, however, was able to access participation events organised by the Guardianship project, which gave him the opportunity to establish relationships with other young people. Through the project Apo met a group of young Kurds who later became his friends:

All of them we can understand each other. Because we know how is the life here and how is the life, the same, exactly same situation so we always support each other, look after each other, anything. Still we are in touch with each other, we are seeing each other, talking, we are going out and stuff.

In addition to enabling Apo to establish relationships with those sharing the same ethnic background, the regular group meetings organised by Guardianship in themselves provided a temporary sense of community for the young man. In our interview Apo talked at length about the fond memories he held of the first residential weekend the project had organised in spring 2012, a weekend I had also participated in as part of my fieldwork. Things had not looked particularly promising to start with - on the journey to the hostel young people were quiet and shy, most like Apo had arrived in Glasgow relatively recently and hardly knew each other. Moreover when we arrived at our destination the hostel had not been heated in preparation for our arrival, the temperature in the rooms thus matched the cold February day outside, and the hostel itself was incredibly bare - the common room for example was equipped with nothing but a large plastic table and uncomfortable plastic chairs. Yet over the course of the weekend this initially so cold and bare hostel transformed entirely; through spending time together, eating and watching films like the Bond-persiflage 'Johnny English', the space became more and more 'homely'. At the end of the three days the young people were chatting freely, teasing and making fun of

each other. As one of the participants later commented, over the course of this weekend she had felt part of a “family” and similarly Apo, more than a year later, still spoke fondly of the weekend.

As I set out in the first empirical chapter of this thesis, young refugees living in Glasgow faced several barriers in accessing spaces of encounter with others and were often dependent on networks with other refugees and migrants, networks that were of relatively fragile and unstable nature. In this chapter I explore how young people like Apo who had recently arrived in Glasgow tried to establish a sense of community despite these limiting circumstances and, importantly, what kind of ‘communities’ of belonging emerged in this context. As I discussed previously Antonsich (2010) and Hage (1997) are sceptical of a sense of belonging that is not based on shared identity. For the latter a ‘community’ has to be based on ‘a feeling of shared symbolic forms, shared morality, shared values and most importantly perhaps, shared language’ (103). Hage’s definition matches traditional conceptualisations of ethnic communities as based on strong group identity (Hall 2000), with an assumed sameness within groups going hand in hand with notions of essentialised difference between groups.⁵⁹ As Alleyne argues in reference to Bourdieu (1986), the ‘assumption of enduring and unbridgeable difference contained in the idea of community is now *doxa*’ (2002:607). This notion of ethnic communities chimes with much of the literature on integration, which often stresses the importance of ethnic communities for migrants’ sense of belonging. Referring to Putnam’s (2000) concept of ‘bonding’ social capital, relationships within these groups are perceived as being based on strong emotional ties and a shared sense of identity. In the context of research with young refugees, Delaney (2006) and Beirens et al. (2007) for example point to the importance of ‘cultural groups’ and ethnic ‘bonding’ ties for the wellbeing of refugee children.

In this chapter I, however, want to provide a more nuanced account of young refugees’ experiences of belonging. By focusing on young people’s lived realities, I demonstrate the complex interplay of identity and belonging in young refugees’ everyday lives and render visible a sense of community that is not necessarily based on notions of shared identity. I thereby highlight the significance of an embodied and affective experience of belonging for young refugees and furthermore draw particular

⁵⁹ When referring to young refugees’ ‘communities’ I use inverted commas in order to make visible the problematic nature of discourses essentialising (ethnic) communities.

attention to everyday practices enabling a sense of belonging and community for young people.

I begin this chapter by exploring relationships young people formed with those sharing the same ethnic or national background. While suggesting that in a context of social, legal and economic marginalisation these relationships provided important day-to-day support and could enable a sense of 'community' for some young people, I also show that ethnic groups did not necessarily provide a sense of belonging for young people. Following from this I discuss multicultural spaces of encounter shaping young people's everyday experiences, arguing that in these spaces young refugees could develop a sense of community based on an 'open sense of belonging' (Diprose 2008) not necessarily tied to notions of shared identity. I thereby in particular emphasise the importance of an affective and embodied sense of belonging based on the immediate experience of being with others, as well as the centrality of seemingly banal everyday activities for these experiences of belonging. I then move on to explore practices of care and 'cosmopolitan' practices and attitudes, which enabled an affective and embodied sense of community to emerge, as well as allowing for young people to establish commonalities beyond ethnic and cultural 'differences'.

In the final part of the chapter I take a step back and connect young people's practices and their narratives reflecting on the multicultural reality of their everyday lives to an everyday politics of belonging. In reference to Askins (2014, 2015) I argue that these daily practices of being with others across 'difference' and the sense of community experienced in this context could be seen as an alternative ethics of being 'together-in-difference' (Ang 2003) that challenged exclusionary politics of belonging and experiences of marginalisation 'quietly'.

6.2 Ethnic 'communities'

In this first subsection I take a closer look at ethnic 'communities' young people established living in Glasgow. While for some young people taking part in this research there simply were no sizeable communities available in the city - for example in the case of young people coming from countries such as Gambia, Mauretania or Swaziland; especially Afghan, Kurdish, Eritrean, Somali and Vietnamese young people often formed part of networks with others sharing the same ethnic or national background. I will at first discuss how these networks could provide young people with important day-to-day support as well as a 'community' to

spend their time with. This thereby has to be seen in a context in which young people faced barriers in accessing everyday spaces of continuous interaction with more long-term residents of Glasgow, as well as the overall legal and economic precarity experienced by participants of this study (see Chapter 4). In this subsection I further suggest that while some young people felt a strong sense of belonging to these groups, for many others these relationships by no means automatically conjured a feeling of belonging and ‘sameness’.

6.2.1 Familiarity and support

As Apo’s comments above have illustrated, when young refugees first arrived in Glasgow, they often felt intimidated by their new surroundings, not knowing the language and, as young people again and again remarked, “not knowing *anyone*”.⁶⁰ In this context it was often reassuring for young people to meet others sharing the same language and familiar ways of interacting. Mhairi (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example recounted that when she had arrived in Glasgow she had felt “so weak and almost isolated”, yet when meeting other young women from the same country of origin, “life started coming into me”. For the young woman the familiarity of those sharing the same ethnic background - their language, their ways of interacting - allowed for a sense of belonging in the first weeks of her arrival.

It is important to note in this context that while for ‘unaccompanied asylum seeking children’ like Mhairi or Apo it was relatively easy to meet other young refugees through projects such as Guardianship, the situation was far more challenging for those considered ‘adult’ asylum seekers. These young people faced greater barriers in accessing spaces of encounter and they depended on spaces such as (initial) accommodation or public spaces such as George Square in order to establish new social networks. In this context it was often easiest for young people to approach and establish contact with those sharing the same language and cultural background, and especially young men commented on being able to identify others who seemed to share their ethnic or national background in public. A young Kurdish man for example remarked tongue in cheek that he was able to recognise other Kurds because of their “skin colour or the way they walk... and our people are eating a lot, we can recognise each other across the street!”

⁶⁰ While this featured strongly in our conversations, it is important to note that a number of young people had some social relations in Glasgow upon arrival - such as aunties or uncles, siblings or acquaintances they had made on their journeys to the UK.

Moreover, as I pointed out previously, for Hage 'community' refers to the existence of others who can be 'morally relied on for help' (1997:102) and establishing relationships with others sharing the same ethnic background provided young people with important support and information in everyday life. As I explored in the previous chapter, especially 'adult' young people depended to a large extent on the support provided by networks with other migrants and refugees and young refugees would, as I described above, help each other in familiarising and navigating their new surroundings. Yet the support of ethnic friendship groups often went far beyond this - for many it provided an important degree of security in their day-to-day lives. These groups could, for example, offer vital support to 'age disputed' young people who struggled to look after themselves; Ayoub (15-18, Southern Asia), who had not been believed to be 16 by the local authorities, talked at length about his Kurdish friends cooking for him and washing his clothes, everyday tasks he felt unable to cope with himself. Similarly for those who had become destitute or had had their asylum claims refused these networks provided vital support, as Alan (22-25, Southern Asia) remarked: "I help, some friend who doesn't have a house, they come to my house, now one friend who doesn't have a house, everything (NASS support) stopped and he stays with me."⁶¹ Alan thereby knew that he could also rely on the support of his friends: "I phone one Kurdish if I have a problem and everyone is coming for help." Young people were aware of their own precarious situation in the asylum system, and these reciprocal networks of support were thus essential - especially for 'adult' asylum seekers.

In addition to providing day-to-day support, being part of an ethnic 'community' meant that young people who often had little to do in their spare time, especially when still going through the asylum system, had others to spend their time with. Again Alan commented:

Every day just home is no good, by myself, just watching TV, not anything, maybe go to Red Cross, three hours (...) after that at home not having friends you know, home people are on their own, every time they think, it's no good. After that we go to people, too many people,⁶² everyone is going there, everything is forgotten. (...) You are joking, you know, talking.

⁶¹ It is important to note that by housing others who had become destitute, young people like Alan who were still in the asylum process risked themselves being evicted from their accommodation.

⁶² Young people taking part in this study often used the word "too" in order to express 'a lot' or 'very'.

Similarly Apo, when talking about his Kurdish friends emphasised the importance of spending time together - “We go all together, we cook and stuff, laugh, make jokes you know, do games or go out, we do stuff like friends”. As I will return to below, engaging in these banal everyday activities with others could be central for young people’s sense of belonging, even if only temporarily so.

6.2.2 ‘Communities’ of belonging?

While ethnic friendship groups could provide a sense of reassurance and familiarity when first arriving in the city, as well as essential day-to-day support and a ‘community’ to spend one’s time with, these did not, as I will now turn to discuss, necessarily conjure a strong sense of belonging in young people. As Alleyne suggests, ‘(i)t is not obvious, contrary to much received wisdom, that people naturally wish to be with their “own kind”’ (2002:609). While Alexander et al. (2007) found that migrants participating in their study wished to primarily be friends with those sharing the same background and culture, the majority of young people taking part in this research when asked about friendships they wished to establish in Glasgow, stated that a shared ethnic or national background was of no importance. Only a small number of participants claimed belonging to ethnic friendship groups without reservation; Rahel (22-25, Eastern Africa) for example commented about other refugees from the same country of origin: “We feel like family”. Similarly Tu (15-18, South-Eastern Asia) explained:

He was saying that most (...) of the friends he has here are (from the same country of origin). And for him it’s better because obviously the language obstacle is not there and their circumstances, like the reason why they are here, are very similar to himself. So you know he finds that he is learning things from them.

For most young people, however, relationships with those sharing the same national or ethnic background were more complex. First of all consisting of networks with others who were similarly subject to immigration control and who had arrived in the country relatively recently, these groups were seldom based on strong ties of trust and emotional attachments, as scholars referring to ‘bonding’ ties within ethnic communities would suggest (see Ager & Strang 2008, Beirens et al. 2007, Mulvey 2013). As I set out previously, networks young people established in Glasgow were predominantly of fragile nature; they were based on relationships with others who similarly had to negotiate a hostile asylum system and social, legal and economic marginalisation. They furthermore mostly consisted of relatively recent acquaintances

rather than long-term friends or family members. This in turn meant that young people seldom felt that they could fully rely on and trust others. Apo, who spent most of his time surrounded by other young people sharing the same ethnic background, for example commented: “I don’t have anybody I trust completely, no - nobody.”

The distrust young people like Apo felt towards others could be further fuelled by experiences in the asylum system. Solav for example, a young woman from Southern Asia, felt that those sharing the same ethnic background did not believe her reasons for claiming asylum and she similarly did not trust others to tell the truth. The ‘culture of disbelief’ (see Anderson et al. 2014) permeating the asylum process could hence influence young people’s relationships with each other. Furthermore a lack of trust could be connected to negative experiences young people had had in the past with those sharing the same background. Patience (19-21, Western Africa), who had been trafficked to the UK, for example talked about not wanting to engage with others from her tribe, since it was “a person from my own tribe that brought me into this”. Similarly JayZ (15-18) remarked that he did not want to engage with those sharing his nationality “because I feel like I would have never been in so many bad situations if it wasn’t for them”.

Moreover, relationships with those sharing the same ethnic background for most young people were influenced by multiple different identities and positionalities (Anthias 2006). As Alexander et al. (2007) point out, ethnic ‘communities’ are shaped by a range of internal differences, and similarly young people taking part in this research reflected on differences within ethnic groups, such as different tribal affiliations, differences in terms of urban or rural background, religion or - as was the case for Bob (15-18, Northern Africa) - political affiliation. I had asked the young man whether it was important to him to be friends with those sharing the same background and Bob answered:

What can I say... I don’t like all of the (COO) people, because (...) they are going with the government you know. (...) They are here as refugees with us, but when they go, when they have a problem or something happens they are with the government you know. For that I don’t like them. From the same family, who speak my language I don’t have a problem with... Even with them there are some people who are not good.

Here differences in political opinion meant that Bob felt little sense of belonging with those sharing his national background (and to some extent also with those sharing the same tribal affiliation - “the same family”). Similarly Samuel (22-25, Southern

Asia) felt that others sharing the same nationality often sided with the government which he strongly opposed. As a consequence much like Bob he decided to stay away from these others: “I know a lot of (COO) people but I don’t speak with them. Because really I think they are not good.”

Lastly researchers have alluded to surveillance and monitoring as negative aspects of being a member of tight knit familial and social networks (see for example Crozier & Davis 2006, Dwyer 1999a, 1999b, Reynolds 2010, Shah et al. 2010), and several young people taking part in this research talked about not engaging with those sharing the same ethnic or national background due to feeling judged and monitored by these others. Jellyfish (15-18, Eastern Africa) in this context commented: “I can’t stand (COO) people. It’s just because they gossip too much and they just judge you for no reason and that thing I don’t like about it.” In the previous chapter I have described the ways in which food related or religious practices were subject to change in the new environment, yet these practices also had to be negotiated with those sharing the same ethnicity or nationality. Young people commented on their clothing styles - for example young women deciding to wear short skirts or substituting their *hijabs* for other forms of headwear - being closely scrutinised by these others. Similarly their behaviour was closely monitored by those sharing the same ethnic or national background. When I asked Nawzad (19-21, Southern Asia) whether it was important for him to have Kurdish friends - since his social network consisted almost entirely of Kurdish others - the young man answered “No, that’s not important”, recounting the following incident:

I have just been to George Square and one girl was with me and she has a small kid and she has that, you know, they use them for kids, I don’t know what... (*Jo: A pram?*) I just help her, because I like her kid and I give him cuddle and the little boy... and after two days I hear a lot of people: Nawzad, why do you do that for the girl, that’s not nice, that’s not good, why do you push her kid, she is being selfish and you are Kurdish and I just answer - No, just because I like that kid, even if I like the girl, I like her, that’s nothing (...) Yeah that’s why I don’t want to see them or be with them, because they don’t know me, but they are going to talk behind me.

Nawzad felt judged according to particular expectations of what Kurdish men should behave and be like, expectations that did not match his own sense of self - as he commented, the others “don’t know me”. The above event in concurrence with several similar incidents meant that Nawzad did not wish to engage with those sharing his ethnic background: “I don’t want to see them or be with them”.

In sum in this subsection I have demonstrated the complexity of young people's experiences of belonging with those sharing the same ethnic or national background. On the one hand in a context of social, legal and economic marginalisation, ethnic and national friendship groups could provide important day-to-day support, a sense of familiarity as well as a 'community' to spend one's time with. However, I also suggested that these groups did not necessarily conjure a sense of belonging for young people. The reasons for this were manifold and complex, yet a sense of not being able to trust and develop strong ties with others was increased by the precariousness young people experienced as 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees'. Paradoxically the precarity of their situation at the same time also resulted in young people's dependence on these networks. This was particularly the case for young 'adults' like Nawzad, who - despite his reservations explored above - was still surrounded by other young Kurds in his daily life.

6.3 Multicultural spaces of encounter and belonging

Having focused on belonging in the context of ethnic 'communities', in the following I will now explore how young people established a sense of belonging with others across cultural and ethnic 'differences'. In this subsection I draw particular attention to everyday experiences of belonging, discussing a deeply affective and embodied sense of belonging emerging in-between young people in particular spaces. I thereby point back to the previous chapter by highlighting the centrality of seemingly banal everyday activities in this context. In the remainder of the chapter I then explore young people's cosmopolitan practices and attitudes, as well as practices of care, enabling a sense of belonging. Whilst particular characteristics of spaces such as those provided by supported accommodation, college or projects for young refugees, facilitated interactions between young people, in this chapter I focus on how young people themselves shaped these spaces and allowed for a sense of community to emerge. I conclude the subsection by returning to notions of shared identity, showing how through ongoing and continuous interactions in these multicultural spaces young people could uncover multiple layers of similarities beyond cultural and ethnic 'differences'.

6.3.1 An 'open sense of belonging'

I want to begin my exploration of young refugees' experiences of belonging with others across 'difference' by returning to the residential weekend I referred to at the outset of this chapter. On the second day of this weekend participants had been

asked to create 'art' from anything they could find in their environment - items such as twigs, stones or empty cans. Interestingly the majority of young people decided to build objects related to 'home', such as a hut in an African village constructed by Apo and a young man from Western Africa. Most notably, however, two young Vietnamese men built a structure accompanied with chalk drawings, the photographs of which can be found below (Photographs 16). The hut they had built, the two young men explained, represented a "house for all cultures", where everyone was welcome irrespective of their background. The construction was accompanied by a re-imagined map of the world, in which all of the countries represented on the weekend - Afghanistan, Austria, Iraq, Scotland, Somalia and Vietnam - were combined in one large continent. An arrow pointing from the map to drawings of the space we had shared on the weekend further read: "We are here". This second drawing depicted the table on which we had shared "breakfast" and "dinner" together and a scene of all of us watching "John(ny) English" in front of a big screen.



Photographs 16
'A house for all cultures'
(photographed by the
author)

The artwork created by the two young men first of all simply reflected the multicultural reality of young refugees' lives in Glasgow. As I argued previously, young people had limited access to spaces in which they could encounter and establish relationships with others, and the spaces they could access were predominantly shared with other migrants and refugees. Accommodation for 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' for example was mostly shared with other young refugees, at college young people would be placed with other migrants and refugees and similarly projects such as Guardianship or Chrysalis brought together those classified as 'young refugees' or 'refugee children'. Young refugees' experiences in Glasgow were therefore marked by 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham 2009) - they lived, studied, and spent their spare time mostly surrounded by others representing a variety of different ethnic and national backgrounds. This is important in a context in which migrants are often depicted as unwilling or unable to integrate (see Chapter 2), since it shows that young refugees arriving in Scotland are 'integrated' into highly diverse communities from day one of their arrival. In this context young people also - as I explore below - developed important cosmopolitan competencies.

More important for this chapter, however, is that the artwork created by the two young men mirrored a sense of belonging young people had experienced during this weekend together. The hut they had built was a "house for all cultures" and the drawings accompanying the structure showed all of the countries represented on the weekend combined in one large continent - as belonging together. As I described above, one of the participants had referred to the residential weekend as feeling like being with "family" and similarly other young people taking part in this study again and again compared experiences in multicultural spaces to being with "family".

During the Chrysalis film project I recorded the following in my field-diary:

We talked about the final film we wanted to make and Cynthia said that she felt that over the last months (in Chrysalis) we had become something like a 'family' and she wanted this to be reflected in the film. She suggested for the film to end with a scene of all of us around a table together, like a family.
(14.12.2012)

Similarly Samuel (22-25, Southern Asia) commented at the time of our interview, which marked the end of the Chrysalis programme he had participated in: "But really I am not happy, but to finish Chrysalis. Very difficult for me. Because general it's like *a new family* for me, like a sister or brother or families and we are very close together but unfortunately I have to leave them and go to college." In addition to "family"

young people also used the word “community” to describe their experiences in these spaces. Sack (19-21, Western Africa) in the following for example recounted living in supported accommodation with other young male refugees: “When I stayed in (accommodation), it’s crazy... even though the situation in (accommodation) is crazy, you kind, you get a sense of a *community*”. Similarly Mhairi (15-18, Eastern Africa) commented that she felt that Guardianship “brings people from all over the place, becoming *one community* and we end up having excessively many friends. You no longer feel alone, you kind of feel like you are among other people.”

As I alluded to above, I suggest that young refugees taking part in this research developed a sense of community with others who they often had little in common with but the label ‘(young) refugee’ and a shared need to establish new communities of belonging - a shared ‘longing to belong’ (Probyn 1996). The quotes above illustrate the sense of belonging young people developed being with others in these multicultural spaces. A sense of community was thus not necessarily based on shared identity - although as I explore below young people could uncover multiple layers of sameness in these spaces - but rather an ‘open sense of belonging’ (Diprose 2008) traversing ethnic and cultural ‘differences’. As I will now turn to discuss, a sense of community was thereby a deeply affective and embodied experience, emerging in particular spaces in-between young people, and was connected to banal everyday activities and practices that reminded of, as Cynthia commented above, previous experiences of being with “family” - such as sitting around a table together.

6.3.2 An affective and embodied sense of belonging

Antonsich (2010), while conceding ‘weak ties’ some potential to lead to a sense of belonging, overall prioritises strong emotional ties to family and friends for enabling a sense of belonging. He thereby refers to the ‘belongingness hypothesis’ of Baumeister and Leary (1995), which assumes that in order to lead to a sense of belonging relationships have to be ‘long-lasting, positive, stable and significant’ and have to be based on frequent and repeated interaction. Antonsich concludes that ‘weak ties’ would not be sufficient for a sense of belonging. This view, however, ignores the importance of a sense of belonging based on the immediacy of being-together - a corporeal, felt and lived sense of belonging. This sense of community is more difficult to grasp and describe, not being based on negotiations of sameness and difference, but on the experience of being with others. Darling (2010), influenced

by non-representational theories, in his research similarly illustrates the importance of the physical presence of bodies in the shared space of a drop-in centre for asylum seekers, and the corporeal and affective collective attachment to both places and relations within these spaces. Asylum seekers like those participating in Darling's study as well as young people taking part in this research, seldom had lasting and stable 'communities' or even stable individual relationships to rely on, and this temporally and spatially situated feeling of community hence played a central role in their everyday lives in Glasgow.

I suggest that when young people used words like "family" in order to describe their experiences in spaces such as their accommodation or Chrysalis, this did not necessarily denote strong emotional attachments to others (although it could), but often expressed the embodied and affective nature of the sense of belonging young people experienced being together. Returning to the chalk drawings depicted above, it becomes clear how important the here and now of these multicultural encounters was for young refugees' sense of belonging - the caption leading from the re-imagined map of the world to the spaces we had shared on the weekend reads "We are here", in doing so drawing attention to the lived experience of this weekend. The drawings furthermore illustrate how a sense of belonging emerged from seemingly banal interactions and activities, again reflecting the significance of everyday practices in creating a sense of familiarity and belonging. The images depict the group eating "breakfast" and "dinner" together and refer to the laughter we had shared watching "John English". Cynthia, when talking about feeling like part of a family at Chrysalis, also wanted to document this by showing the group sitting around a table "like a family". Central for her experience of belonging were simple daily activities that evoked memories of being with family. Similarly at Guardianship or Chrysalis a sense of comfort and belonging for young people emerged from quotidian practices and interactions - such as sharing food, listening to music or *being* in the space together - activities that young people connected to previous experiences of being with family or other 'communities' of belonging.

Returning to ethnic friendship groups discussed above, I want to suggest that for many young people a sense of belonging in this context also emerged from the immediate experience of being with others and from engaging in familiar everyday practices and activities together. Even for those who did not necessarily feel a strong emotional attachment or a sense of identity with those sharing the same background,

being able to spend time, cook and listen to music with these others, could similarly enable an embodied and affective sense of belonging, even if only temporarily so.

As I have discussed until now, young people could develop a sense of belonging with others across cultural 'differences' - a sense of belonging that was spatially and temporally situated and was based on the affective and embodied experience of being together, and on engaging in familiar quotidian practices and activities with others. While certain spaces facilitated interactions between young people and a feeling of belonging in this context - for example by providing a relatively safe space and bringing together young people in shared activities (akin to Amin's (2002) 'micro-publics') - I will now turn to explore how young people's practices and attitudes shaped these spaces and enabled a sense of belonging to emerge.

6.3.3 Enabling a sense of 'community' I: Acts of care

I want to begin this section by providing a short extract from my field-diary in which I reflected on the experiences I had had during my fieldwork:

We went on a residential trip somewhere near A., and I wanted to write something about the positive experiences I had with the young people, something about the openness with which they met me. And also the space they create, the comfort and sense of belonging it has given me over the past nearly two years... I think this is partly why I am so scared of writing-up now, because I won't have this space anymore, a space that gives me a sense of belonging, which I had through both Guardianship and Chrysalis. With both projects the young people met me with friendliness and openness, seldom someone was closed towards me - sometimes they just needed time, like Thanh who now seems a lot happier and actually talked to me a bit on the residential. But even otherwise, I never had the feeling I was left out, even if people talk in their own language, they make sure they translate for you when they notice you need or want to know, they really made an effort to communicate. I just think there is something about that behaviour that is noteworthy... But somehow it is easier to write about the negative things, the conflict between people (of course also that was part of this weekend) and the difficult experiences people have. I don't know why it is harder to capture the good things, the happy moments (and there are so many). (04.10.2013)

This extract stems from notes I had taken after the last residential weekend I participated in, which also marked the end of my fieldwork. Similar to the very first weekend I described above, I had felt part of a 'community', had felt a sense of belonging. As my notes show, the young people's attitudes and practices were central to this feeling of belonging, and in this and the following section I will explore in more detail how young people contributed to establishing a sense of community based on an 'open sense of belonging'.

To begin with, what my notes above did not fully capture were acts of care shaping these multicultural spaces of encounter. Mee (2009) in her research with public housing tenants has illustrated the importance of care for a sense of belonging, both the feeling of being cared for and being able to care for others. Similarly Darling's (2010) research has shown that care provided by volunteers played an important role in creating a sense of belonging for asylum seekers accessing the drop-in centre. Young refugees taking part in this research were often in the role of receiving 'care' and support from others, especially in spaces such as those provided by Guardianship and Chrysalis - which raises issues regarding relations of power in these spaces (see also Darling 2011). However, as Bowlby (2011) suggests, care relations are never one-sided. Askins (2014) for example in her research shows that asylum seekers involved in a befriending project equally provided care to 'befrienders', and young people participating in this study similarly importantly shaped the social fabric of spaces of encounter described above.

Conradson (2003) understands care as 'the proactive interest of one person in the well-being of another' (508), consisting of both caring *about* and caring *for* others - elements which both marked relationships emerging in spaces such as Chrysalis or Guardianship. Meeting regularly over the course of twelve weeks meant that Chrysalis had become an important everyday space for the participants and that the group had developed into a (temporary) 'community'. Young people caring *about* each other for example became apparent when Chrysalis participants continuously kept track of who was present and who was absent, wondering and worrying about those missing. When one of the participants was detained during the second Chrysalis project I participated in, the whole group was deeply affected. The young people subsequently wrote cards of encouragement to the young man, who could not read but would later find someone to read the letters to him. Some of the young people in the group had experienced detention themselves and wanted to visit the young man since they knew how hard it had been for them.

Similarly daily encounters and interactions in these spaces were marked by quotidian acts of caring *for* each other. Young people would for example make cups of tea for others, offer each other food, help each other find their way home when they were new to the city, and on a day-trip to the beach would wrap someone in jackets who was freezing cold after swimming in the Scottish sea. Young people also included service providers in their efforts to care for others, bringing small presents or food

they had prepared at home, thus being able to not only be the receivers of care, but to also feel a degree of agency and independence by caring for others (see Yuval-Davis 2011). These acts of care were small-scale, yet still importantly shaped the spaces provided by Chrysalis and Guardianship. As Bowlby (2011) asserts, perceptions of care are strongly connected to notions of 'family'. I suggest that these practices facilitated a sense of belonging with others, as well as tying in with young people's previous experiences of being with "family" or a 'community' of belonging and previous practices of 'togetherness'.

6.3.4 Enabling a sense of 'community' II: Cosmopolitan practices and attitudes

In addition to acts of care I suggest that young people's 'cosmopolitan' attitudes and practices in these spaces further facilitated a sense of belonging and 'community'. When using the word 'cosmopolitan' I refer to young people's open attitude towards strangers and their willingness and ability to interact with others across 'differences'. Everyday practices of cosmopolitanism have so far received relatively little attention and cosmopolitanism has predominantly been associated with certain kinds of people - those privileged in terms of cultural, social and financial capital (Yeoh 2004). While this focus is slowly changing, as Robbins (1998) suggests, more important than the question of *who* can be classified as 'cosmopolitan' in the context of my research is a focus on everyday realities and the *doing* of cosmopolitanism (see Law 2001). Noble's (2009) concept of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' proves particularly useful in this context; the scholar focuses on everyday negotiations of and interactions across 'difference' - hence the *practices* of cosmopolitanism. These for the scholar are necessary for those whose lives are marked by 'everyday cosmopolitanism' since they create the conditions for liveable lives. Similarly in the case of young people taking part in this research, interactions with others across 'difference' formed part of their day-to-day lives and were necessary in order to rebuild a sense of belonging and community in their new surroundings.

In the following Sack (19-21, Western Africa) reflected on his experiences of living in an accommodation project for young male refugees, which - as I recorded above - felt like a "community" to the young man:

Yeah, all the people who live in this building, the same people, when someone new arrived, when I look at it, it's kind of strange... *everyone opens their hands*, no matter who they are, no matter which country they are from, everyone opens their hands. You know, it does seem weird, because when I went to (accommodation), when I went there, that was the way I was treated.

And the same way I treated every single one. It's just, it's not out of obligation, it's just free will, you just feel like that. *You feel like everyone is together.*

Sack's narrative similar to my own above reflects a feeling of welcome he had experienced living in supported accommodation, and while conflict did occur, a sense of "everyone open(ing) their hands" enabled Sack to feel part of a "community". Central for his, as well as my, sense of belonging in these spaces were young people's cosmopolitan practices and attitudes. Throughout my fieldwork I could witness young people approaching each other and making an effort to communicate, despite the fact that they often faced major language barriers, as Mhairi and Cutie (both 15-18, Eastern Africa) commented:

I think it's a mixed thing, like I would say the Afghani or Yemeni friends that I met, the problem initially was the language barrier, which often is a problem. So the first time when I came I didn't know even a word of English, and a few days later I would pick up a word and I would just speak one word and that would be it, so but then progressively we started to be able to chat. (Mhairi)

Because you can try hard, so people can understand you in signs and stuff. I think sometimes you don't even understand each other, but we try, use signs (...) I think even if it was me, if you are talking and I'd be like talking, I would try my hardest to come around so I can talk to you, I think, it's the effort of someone as well, you don't just wait for people to come. (Cutie)

As Cutie described, not sharing the same language, young people would try to find ways of communicating through sign and body language. Just having started to learn English, at times whole conversations would be based on single words, as Mhairi commented. On one occasion I witnessed a conversation between two young men, which was solely based on names of footballers and football teams and the evaluative adjectives good and bad. Despite not sharing the same language, the young men were thus able to establish that they supported different English football teams, yet were both fans of the same football player. Similarly banter and jokes could form a way to establish connections with others based on simple words or body language. When a young man in Chrysalis declared his love for one of the female participants by claiming that she was "Uff Mama!", this for the young men in the group subsequently became a short-hand for everything that was considered 'good' - a cup of tea, the weather, everything could be "Uff Mama!" Using these two words and the laughter they shared created a bond between the young men, reminding them of experiences they had shared. Even if neither spoken, nor sign or body language succeeded in facilitating communication, young people would try to find ways to establish connections with each other. When Daniel, a young man from

Middle Africa, first arrived at Guardianship he did not speak a single word of English. At first the young people were at loss how to include the young man - until one of the participants offered his headphones to Daniel, which enabled the two young men to establish that they shared a similar taste in music (and appreciation for Rihanna).

In addition to their willingness to approach and engage with others, most young people participating in this research continuously tried to learn about each other and each other's cultural backgrounds. They would for example learn snippets of each other's languages, like Mohammad (15-18, Southern Asia) who soon established how to ask 'How are you' in the languages of everyone present in his Chrysalis group (including German). Similarly most young people taking part in this study were open to learn about each other's backgrounds and 'cultures'. In our interviews I asked young people about their experiences of finding themselves in multicultural spaces in their daily lives. Only a small number of young people in answer to my question alluded to the challenges they had experienced in this context. Solav (22-25, Southern Asia) for example commented: "I find it a little bit hard actually. For example if I meet somebody who has a different colour, different culture, different." The majority of young people, however, emphasised the positivity of these encounters and the importance of learning through and about others, as the following quotes show:

Yeah, people are different. When you meet different people you learn more, so I think that is better, I learn more. So it's not bad, I am with different people, I know some cultures, I know different friends, different countries, yes. So I know another country, but when I was in my country it was like someone put a curtain (*mimes a veil in front of his face*), I can't see. So now I, my mind is open and I know not a lot, but I know a lot more. (Chidi, 15-18, Eastern Africa)

You know your own culture. I want to live with someone who is not the same culture. It is good to learn about different cultures. (Tom, 15-18, Southern Asia)

It is really nice, they are really gonna give you more information in your life, you're gonna be have more experience in your life, if I meet you from Austria, yeah? I am from (COO), I am gonna give you some information about my country, you are gonna, we are gonna mix, if there is something mixed it's gonna be nice. (Ben, 15-18, Southern Asia)

The above comments reflect young people's positive attitude towards encountering cultural and ethnic 'Others'. Similar to participants in Darling's (2010) or Askins' (2015) research, these encounters were seen to potentially change the way young people saw the world and themselves. As with the 'micro-publics' described by Amin,

spaces of multicultural encounter enabled ‘moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction’ (2002:970). As Chidi remarked, meeting “different people” from “different countries” had enabled his mind to “open” - it had felt to him as if a veil had been lifted from his eyes. Ben also stressed the benefits of new forms and cultures emerging in this context: “if there is something mixed it’s gonna be nice”. Spaces of multicultural encounter were thus strongly shaped by young people’s ‘cosmopolitan’ attitudes and practices, which were necessary for these young people in order to establish conditions for liveable lives and a sense of community in their new surroundings.

6.3.5 Establishing commonality beyond ethnicity

Returning to questions of a shared sense of identity, I want to suggest that interactions in multicultural spaces such as those discussed above further enabled young people to establish commonalities beyond cultural and ethnic ‘differences’. Through engaging with each other in these spaces young people could, similar to participants in Pain and Askins’ research, establish ‘points of connection and similarity’ (2011:817) beyond their ethnic and cultural identities. As I argued above, a sense of belonging experienced by young people in these spaces was not necessarily based on a sense of shared identity, however, through their engagement with each other young people could establish similarities that further facilitated a sense of belonging. In the following comments Goran (22-25, Western Asia) and Rihanna (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example reflected on discovering similarities with others:

It was a really nice experience we had (at Chrysalis), I personally thought that when you see people, meet them, they don’t want to get to know you, they don’t have space for you and don’t want to mix with you, get close to you and become friends with you. But in such occasions when you meet them and get to know them, you realise that what you thought is not like that. *They are all like you* and as you want to meet different people they want to meet different people as well, how you like to know to get to know others, that’s how they get to know you as well, and to me it was a very nice experience. (Goran)

I think it takes a bit of time to make an acquaintance (at Guardianship), once you start getting acquainted with each other then you develop that, then you find that *they are ordinary people like you* and develop an interest and start to talk. (Rihanna)

Being able to repeatedly interact with others enabled young people like Rihanna and Goran to realise that others were “ordinary people like you”. While sharing the label

'refugee' did not necessarily evoke a sense of 'sameness', for some young people discovering that others had had similar experiences facilitated a sense of belonging, as Amina (15-18, Eastern Africa) for example commented:

Before even I didn't know what to talk to my friends. I was feeling a bit different because of what I have been through, and all that. But I came to know that we are almost the same. We are all from different places, but same things happened to them, that's why they came here. They are also like family to me.

Realising that others had faced similarly difficult experiences for Amina facilitated a sense of community. The other young people, the young woman commented, felt like a "family" to her. For those who were aware of the stigma attached to the label 'refugee' repeated encounters with others in these spaces could similarly dissipate initial concerns. When a young man from Western Africa, who had spent several years living in a small British town before coming to Glasgow, first arrived at Chrysalis, he felt highly uncomfortable being solely surrounded by others labelled as 'refugees'. In the first weeks the young man held back, when talking to me stressing how "different" everyone else was from him. Yet over the course of time he was also able to establish connections and similarities with other young people, as he later reflected: "Yeah, and then when you see people from different places you are kind of like: (*shrugging his shoulders*) What's going on?! And then later you are like, I know them, they are pals!" Young people taking part in this research established commonalities in regards to a whole range of aspects of their identities. Young people connected over shared music taste, as was the case with Daniel above. Similarly they established that they shared an interest in football or supported the same team, that they also had an interest in fashion or shopping, or had a similar sense of humour.

In sum in this subsection I suggested that young people participating in this study experienced a sense of community based on an 'open sense of belonging' (Diprose 2008) in everyday multicultural spaces of encounter. I thereby highlighted the deeply embodied and affective nature of these experiences of belonging, as well as the centrality of seemingly banal everyday activities and practices in enabling a sense of community to emerge. I furthermore drew attention to the ways in which young people's cosmopolitan practices and attitudes and acts of care shaped the social fabric of these spaces of encounter. Whilst in this subsection I suggested that feelings of belonging did not necessarily have to be based on a shared sense of identity, I concluded by pointing to the ways in which continuous interactions in these

everyday spaces of encounter - akin to Amin's (2002) 'micro-publics' - could allow for young people to establish commonalities beyond ethnic and national 'differences'. In these spaces young people could also discover multiple layers of difference, yet in this chapter I have focused on the ways in which young people's practices and interactions enabled a sense of belonging, which was not romanticised but was seen as necessary in a context in which young people had to rebuild new 'communities' of belonging.

6.4 A 'quiet politics of belonging'

In this final section I want to take a step back and relate these experiences of belonging with others across cultural differences, this sense of community based on an open sense of belonging, to wider politics of belonging. As I argued previously in the light of dominant discourses of national belonging young refugees felt that they had little right to challenge experiences of marginalisation and discrimination. Yet I suggest that practices described above through which young people established a sense of community and the narratives reflecting on everyday experiences of being 'together-in-difference' (Ang 2003) can be seen as a way of young people engaging with and challenging wider politics of belonging. As a growing body of literature focusing on the geographies of children and young people has shown, the political manifests itself not only in macro-politics shaping children's and young people's lives, but also in emotional and embodied everyday experiences - the micro-politics - of children's and young people's lives (see Buckingham 2000, Philo & Smith 2013, Hopkins & Alexander 2010, Kallio & Häkli 2013, Skelton 2010). Macro-politics are thereby not separable from the micro-politics of everyday life; as I demonstrate in this thesis, everyday experiences of belonging are in a complex interplay and tension with wider politics of belonging. Participants in this research were marginalised from mainstream politics in many ways - as 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees', and as children and young people. However, in reference to Askins (2014, 2015) I want to suggest that young people still engaged in a 'quiet politics of belonging'.

Askins' research focused on relationships emerging in the context of a befriending project between asylum seekers and more long-term residents of Newcastle. While not romanticising these relationships the scholar illustrates how these were based on mutual care and friendship, enabling those involved to develop an understanding for each other beyond assumed cultural and ethnic 'differences'. As the scholar states: 'Their relationship is produced through a *quiet politics* - an unassuming praxis of

engaging with others, in which new social relations are built in/through everyday places, relationally connected across a range of geographies' (2014:354, emphasis added). The everyday experiences of these relationships for Askins had the potential to challenge wider politics, and 'to shift how we see and how we feel about our others' (2015:4).

As I have shown in this chapter, young people's experiences and practices in multicultural spaces described above were marked by an open attitude towards others and a willingness to engage with others across ethnic and cultural 'differences'. Similarly their reflections on the multicultural reality of their everyday lives expressed a positive ethics of living 'together-in-difference'. The "house for all cultures" created by two young Vietnamese men on the residential weekend described above here served as an important example. The young people had created a map that united all the countries represented on the weekend in one large continent and the house they had built was open to everyone irrespective of their cultural background. Similarly in our interviews young people frequently stressed the necessity to be open towards others and their own tolerant and "polite" character - the latter for young people referred to being "friendly with people from different backgrounds, with different colours and cultures", as Bagir (22-25, Southern Asia) explained. Importantly, as became clear above, when reflecting on their everyday multicultural realities young people emphasised the positivity of these experiences, with Ben for example stressing the benefits of "mixing" different cultures: "if there is something mixed it's gonna be nice".

While most young people did not challenge belonging as based on particular 'home'-countries - although the re-imagined map of the world the two young Vietnamese men had created could be read this way - I suggest that these narratives and practices of openness and tolerance, the emphasis of the positivity of cross-cultural encounters, represented a way for young people to implicitly challenge experiences of marginalisation and discrimination. Their narratives and everyday lives showed an alternative way of being 'together-in-difference' based on an openness towards others. In doing so young people could also implicitly address the lack of contact they had with more long-term residents of Glasgow, implying the benefits for these others were they to meet and interact with the young people.

6.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I discussed how young refugees arriving in Glasgow carved out new 'communities' of belonging living in the city. I have previously highlighted the context in which young people taking part in this research had to establish a sense of belonging, the difficulties they faced in accessing spaces of encounter - in particular for 'adult' young refugees - as well as the ways in which experiences of legal and economic precarity impacted on young people's ability to develop social networks and a sense of community. The 'communities' described in this chapter did not represent stable or lasting networks, but were contingent, fragile and limited to particular social and spatial contexts. Yet they could still provide an important sense of belonging for young people who had arrived in Glasgow recently and were relatively isolated.

In this chapter I suggested that experiences of community did not necessarily have to be related to notions of shared identity, but could also be based on an 'open sense of belonging' (Diprose 2008) traversing ethnic or national boundaries. I started off by providing a nuanced and complex picture of young people's experiences of belonging with those sharing the same ethnic or national origin. While ethnic groups were shown to provide important day-to-day support, a sense of familiarity and a 'community' to spend one's time with, I also argued that these groups did not necessarily evoke a sense of 'sameness' or belonging in young refugees. Having thus already problematised notions of belonging as based on shared identity, I then moved on to explore experiences of belonging beyond national and ethnic 'identity'. I illustrated how young people arriving in Glasgow in their daily lives predominantly found themselves in spaces shared with other migrants and refugees. Focusing on the lived experience and multicultural everyday realities of young people taking part in this study, I suggested that young people could experience a deeply embodied and affective sense of belonging in these spaces, emerging from the 'affective charge of being with others' (Darling 2010:251). In discussing a corporeal, felt and lived sense of belonging, I also demonstrated the centrality of seemingly banal practices and activities - such as sharing food or watching television together - for experiences of belonging and community.

In this chapter I have furthermore considered the ways in which young people's practices and attitudes allowed for a sense of belonging to emerge in these multicultural spaces of encounter. I have thereby taken into consideration both

quotidian acts of care, as well as young people's cosmopolitan practices and attitudes. In discussing these I have drawn attention to young people's intercultural competencies that have so far been neglected in research with young refugees, which has tended to depict these as bewildered and as experiencing 'culture shock' (see Chapter 2). Furthermore focusing on daily practices and interactions - practices of 'community' making so to speak - again reflected the emerging and processual nature of home and belonging. Similar to the previous chapter the discussion above has shown how young people constantly re-created memories of 'community' and belonging. Young people participating in this research reflected on a growing sense of familiarity with those in their surroundings and the increasing understanding and sense of commonality they felt in regards to cultural 'Others'.

As I set out in Chapter 4, a sense of community was, however, more difficult to attain with more long-term residents of Glasgow. I have thus concluded this chapter by relating everyday experiences of belonging in multicultural spaces of encounter to wider politics of belonging. I suggested that reflections on the lived reality of their everyday lives and their 'cosmopolitan' attitudes and practices represented a way for young people to engage with and to some extent challenge experiences of marginalisation and exclusion 'quietly'.

Chapter 7

Conclusion



Photographs 17 'Shadows' ('Our Glasgow' photography project)

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored everyday geographies of belonging in the lives of young refugees in Glasgow. Young people participating in this research were aged between 15 and 25 and had arrived in the city less than three years ago. They represented a diverse range of nationalities, ages, religions, individual characters and histories, yet shared the common experience of being labelled as ‘asylum seekers’ or ‘refugees’. In this thesis I showed the effects of these categorisations on young people’s daily lives and their ability to claim and feel belonging in their new environment. By focusing on the everyday I could at the same time account for the ways in which young people carved out spaces and ‘communities’ of belonging on the basis of everyday practices in tension with these limiting conditions. In doing so I demonstrated the deeply ambivalent nature of young people’s experiences of belonging, rendering visible the complex interplay of exclusionary politics of belonging and an affective and embodied sense of being ‘at home’ shaping young refugees’ everyday geographies of belonging.

In exploring young people’s narratives of home and belonging, Apo’s story has accompanied the reader throughout this thesis. I chose the young man’s story as a starting point for each empirical chapter since it illustrated the complex and contradictory nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow. On the one hand Apo felt a strong sense of exclusion living in Scotland, feeling that as Muslim, immigrant and ethnic ‘Other’ he could not fully belong. Even when he tried to blend into his new surroundings by wearing “Western” clothes Apo would still feel visible and somewhat ‘out of place’, a feeling that was reinforced by experiences of ‘everyday racism’ and discrimination. Apo also felt unhappy about not having been able to make friends with “Scottish people”, something that contributed to his sense of exclusion. In addition the young man struggled with his living situation; waiting for social housing after being granted refugee status he was still accommodated in supported accommodation for young refugees. In this heavily monitored and controlled space Apo felt little sense of agency and ownership, and hence felt little ‘at home’. Yet despite these circumstances Apo had also developed a strong sense of belonging living in Glasgow. I have previously recounted Apo’s story of trying to move to England and soon deciding to return. Being away from Glasgow, Apo had realised just how attached he had become to the city, and when I asked him why, the young man related this to simply having become familiar with and knowing Glasgow. Apo had also established social networks in the city, which provided him with

everyday support as well as a sense of community. The young man spent most of his spare time with his Kurdish friends, but also felt a sense of belonging when being with other young migrants and refugees in his accommodation or at Guardianship.

Apo's story illustrated the complex interweaving of different dimensions and scales of belonging in young refugees' everyday lives. His experiences were no exception - as has become clear, young people involved in this research all had to negotiate everyday processes of home making in a context of national politics of belonging that posed several barriers for their ability to develop a feeling of being 'at home'. This meant that a sense of belonging for young people was frequently of fragile and contingent nature. The last time I met Apo was at the railway station in Glasgow; I was about to catch a train to Edinburgh when I suddenly saw the young man approaching me. We had little time to talk, yet what Apo said left a lasting impression on me. He was, he told me, thinking about returning to his country of origin - despite the fact that this would potentially put him at risk.

7.2 Thesis summary

In the following I discuss the findings of this thesis, exploring themes touched upon above in more detail. This research project overall included sixty young people. It was based on 18 months of participant observation with two organisations working with young refugees in Glasgow, 30 individual and five group interviews involving 18 young people, as well as three participatory projects. This research design was chosen in order to answer the following research question:

What are the limitations young refugees face in establishing a sense of belonging in Glasgow and how do they carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging in everyday life despite these limitations?

This overall research question was divided into three sub-questions:

- What are the effects of being classified as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' or 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' on young people's everyday lives and their sense of belonging?
- How do young people create a sense of homeliness in everyday life, and what kind of homely spaces do they carve out?
- What kind of relationships are young people able to establish in Glasgow and how do they create 'communities' of belonging in this context?

I attended to each of these research questions in a separate empirical chapter, although certain themes overlapped. The three empirical chapters of this thesis were aimed at complementing each other and taken together accounted for the tension between exclusionary politics of belonging and daily practices of home making shaping young people's experiences of belonging in Glasgow.

The first empirical chapter - **Chapter 4** - explored the limitations young refugees faced in developing a sense of belonging in Glasgow. As indicated above, it set the context for the subsequent two chapters in which I illustrated the ways in which young people tried to carve out spaces and 'communities' of belonging in their daily lives. In this first empirical chapter I showed how national politics of belonging impacted on both young people's everyday lives as well as their ability to claim belonging to Scotland and the UK more generally. The term 'national politics of belonging' in the context of this research project referred to both the immediate effects of a lack of formalised belonging experienced by those categorised as 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees', as well as the more implicit consequences of exclusionary imaginations of belonging to a national 'community'. The chapter focused on three different strands: Firstly young people's sense of visibility and experiences of 'everyday racism' in particular spatial and social contexts, secondly barriers to young refugees' ability to familiarise and thus 'home' their new surroundings, and thirdly the effects of being categorised as 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees' on young people's social networks and sense of community.

In the first part of Chapter 4 I explored participants' narratives of feeling visible and somewhat 'out of place' in particular social and spatial contexts, as well as discussing quotidian forms of racism and discrimination shaping young people's lives in Glasgow. These incidents marked young people's daily lives, as deeply affective and embodied experiences, but also demarcated boundaries of national belonging. As immigrant, ethnic and Muslim 'Others' participants of this study often felt that they had little right to claim belonging to Scotland and to challenge experiences of racism and exclusion.

In the second part of the chapter I explored how being categorised as 'asylum seekers', 'refugees' and 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' could limit young people's ability to develop a feeling of being 'at home' in Glasgow. Following Hage (1997) and Noble (2005) I highlighted the importance of a sense of comfort, familiarity and safety for experiences of belonging. I began by briefly touching upon

the overall effects of the asylum process on young people's ability to feel 'at home' in Glasgow and in particular their sense of agency and security in this context. I mostly, however, focused on the implications of housing policies aimed at 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees' for young people's experiences of belonging, exploring central everyday spaces such as their homes and neighbourhoods. I drew attention to practices of accommodating young people in areas of multiple deprivation and far away from the city centre, as well as highlighting how housing policies could impact on young people's everyday home making practices and their overall sense of homeliness.

In the final part of Chapter 4 I suggested that the above-described circumstances furthermore affected young refugees' ability to develop a sense of community in their new environment. I showed how young people participating in this study had limited access to everyday spaces of encounter with others - in particular with more long-term residents of Glasgow. Spaces of ongoing and continuous interaction (Amin's (2002) 'micro-publics') young people could access, I argued, were mostly shared with other migrants and refugees. Young refugees who had arrived in Glasgow relatively recently were shown to live, study and spend most of their spare time with others who had migrated to the country. This had two implications. On the one hand it meant that young people faced barriers in familiarising their new social surroundings and in establishing a sense of belonging. On the other hand this, in connection with the insecurities produced by the asylum system, resulted in dependencies of - especially 'adult' - young refugees on networks with others whose lives were similarly marked by precariousness and insecurity.

Throughout Chapter 4 it became clear that young people's social identities strongly shaped their experiences of belonging. Young men were more likely to become the target of racist assaults, yet - as I discussed in Chapter 5 - often felt less intimidated by living in areas of multiple deprivation. Again 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' received more formal support and were accommodated in 'safer' forms of housing and thus to some extent found it easier to develop a sense of being 'at home' in Glasgow. However, being aware of the importance of a sense of agency for a feeling of belonging, I have also shown how some participants of this study struggled with the lack of control and ownership they felt they had living in supported accommodation. Measures that were put into place in order to render these spaces 'safe' could thus on the contrary lead to a sense of insecurity. Furthermore these

heavily controlled spaces effectuated daily routines and practices that for some young people exacerbated a sense of un-homeliness. Lastly, while providing a more secure immigration status, being granted leave to remain could in some ways increase young people's sense of precarity and discomfort; living in temporary homeless hostels was shown to be experienced as even more limiting and un-homely than accommodation for those still seeking asylum.

Having set out the limitations young people faced in developing a sense of belonging living in Glasgow, the remaining two chapters focused on the ways in which young people tried to create a sense of belonging in their daily lives. Taken together the three chapters rendered visible the constant tension between exclusionary politics shaping young people's lives, and an embodied and affective sense of being 'at home' emerging on the basis of everyday practices of home making. **Chapters 5 and 6** both focused on daily practices and routines underlying young people's experiences of belonging, yet were separated according to their focal point - the first looking in particular at spatial elements of home making, the second focusing on relational dimensions of belonging and processes of 'community making'.

While in the previous chapter I had drawn attention to quotidian spaces that evoked a sense of not belonging and everyday routines that effectuated a feeling of un-homeliness, in **Chapter 5** I suggested that the everyday could also enable a sense of comfort and home. In reference to Felski (1999-2000) I showed a sense of homeliness and familiarity as intrinsically tied to the everyday, illustrating the significance of quotidian practices and seemingly banal aspects of everyday life for enabling a sense of belonging (see also Fenster 2005). This was particularly the case for young people taking part in this study, who had recently arrived in Scotland and had to rebuild a sense of identity and belonging in their new environment. In the first part of the chapter I took a closer look at how young people established a sense of belonging on the basis of familiarising and developing habitual knowledge of their new surroundings. A feeling of belonging was shown to emerge from seemingly banal aspects of everyday life, such as knowing how to pay for the bus or how to use a pound note. I also made clear that these everyday practices were not only individual endeavours, but could be facilitated by young people's social networks.

In the remainder of Chapter 5 I demonstrated the key role memories of previous homes played for young people's ability to establish a feeling of being 'at home' in their new surroundings. I began by exploring the ways in which young refugees

mapped previous spaces of belonging onto their current environment, thereby in particular focusing on the examples of the River Clyde and Glasgow's George Square. I suggested that young people not only related these spaces to memories and imaginations of past 'homes', but also engaged in familiar practices of 'togetherness' in these spaces. Following from this I focused on food related and religious home making practices that similarly enabled a sense of continuity and homeliness for young people by connecting their present lives to prior experiences of being 'at home'. Previous research with young refugees has similarly noted the key role these practices play for young refugees' sense of being 'at home', yet I have contributed to this existing body of research by rendering visible the hybridity of these practices and the changing nature of what 'home' refers to. While repetition and habit were shown as central elements of a sense of familiarity and home, I have also illustrated the potentially transformative nature of the everyday. I suggested that food related and religious home making practices were not necessarily conservative, but could be subject to change and modification in the new environment.

Throughout the chapter it again became clear that gender and age strongly shaped young people's experiences of belonging. It was for example easier for young men to navigate and appropriate public spaces of belonging, yet on the other hand most young women taking part in this study already knew how to cook, which represented an important home making strategy. Besides, those acknowledged as 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' received far more formal support in familiarising and 'homing' their new surroundings than (those perceived as) adult refugees.

The third and last empirical chapter - **Chapter 6** - focused on relational aspects of belonging, although the importance of space was acknowledged in the chapter. I illustrated how young refugees tried to establish a sense of community in a context in which they were socially marginalised and did not have stable or lasting communities upon which they could rely. I explored both the importance of ethnic friendship groups, as well as experiences of belonging in multicultural spaces of encounter. I began by showing the complexity of belonging in the context of ethnic 'communities'. While for some young people these could provide a feeling of belonging, especially when newly arriving in Glasgow, a shared ethnic or national background was shown to not necessarily evoke a sense of belonging. The reasons for this were manifold and complex, yet it is important to note that a sense of not being able to trust and

develop strong ties with these others was exacerbated by the legal, social and economic marginalisation experienced by 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees'. Paradoxically this at the same time also often resulted in the dependency of young people on these networks in their daily lives.

In the remainder of Chapter 6 I explored experiences of belonging in multicultural spaces of encounter, such as supported accommodation, college or spaces provided by Chrysalis and Guardianship. In reference to Diprose (2008) I suggested that in these spaces participants of this study established a sense of community based on an 'open sense of belonging' - a feeling of belonging that was not necessarily based on notions of shared identity. I in particular drew attention to a sense of belonging emerging from the 'affective charge of being with others' (Darling 2010:251), thus highlighting the importance of an embodied and affective sense of belonging. In discussing a corporeal, felt and lived sense of belonging, I again demonstrated the centrality of seemingly banal everyday practices and activities - such as sharing food or watching television together - for young people's experiences of belonging and community.

In this chapter I alluded to how certain spaces had a positive impact on young people's ability to develop a sense of belonging with others, for example by bringing young refugees together in shared activities or by providing a relatively safe space for young people to interact with each other. However, since the focus of the chapter was on young people's agency, I discussed in detail how young refugees themselves shaped the social fabric of these spaces and created opportunities for a sense of community to emerge. I thereby highlighted the importance of acts of care and - in reference to Noble's (2009) concept of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' - young people's 'cosmopolitan' attitudes and practices. Rather than romanticising these practices and attitudes, these were shown to be necessary in a context in which young people had arrived relatively recently and needed to establish new 'communities' of belonging.

By discussing young people's everyday practices and interactions in these spaces - their practices of 'community making' so to speak - I could moreover again show how a sense of belonging was always in the making and emerging. Young people participating in this research reflected on a growing sense of familiarity with those in their surroundings and the increasing understanding and sense of commonality they felt towards cultural 'Others'. These practices thus not only created the conditions for

a sense of belonging to emerge, but also enabled young people to establish similarities beyond notions of cultural and ethnic 'differences'.

In the final part of Chapter 6, I took a step back and reflected on young people's engagement with wider politics of belonging. Up to this point I had focused on the ways in which young people created a feeling of being 'at home' in Glasgow in tension with exclusionary politics of belonging. However, in reference to Askins (2014, 2015) in this last section I argued that young people taking part in this study also engaged in a 'quiet politics of belonging'. As I set out in the first empirical chapter of the thesis, young refugees faced limitations in their ability to claim belonging to Scotland and felt that they had little right to challenge experiences of racism or discrimination. Young people for example commented that they could not stand up against racist assault since "this is not my country" or "this country belongs to white people". Yet I suggested that through focusing on the everyday one could detect a 'quiet politics of belonging' expressed by young people - for example when demonstrating knowledge of their new surroundings or when displaying symbols of national belonging. I argued that young refugees' cosmopolitan practices and narratives reflecting on the multicultural reality of their everyday lives in particular could be seen as a 'quiet politics of belonging', offering an alternative ethics of being 'together-in-difference' (Ang 2003) that challenged exclusionary politics of belonging. The everyday thus, I suggested, not only carried the potential for young people to develop a feeling of being 'at home' (in tension with exclusionary politics of belonging), but could also provide the basis for - albeit almost inaudible - claims to belonging. This furthermore again rendered visible the ways in which different scales of belonging were interrelated, with experiences of belonging on a local level influencing young people's engagement with national politics of belonging.

7.3 Contributions to knowledge

In the following I will discuss important theoretical and empirical contributions made in this thesis. As I set out previously scholars have criticised a lack of theorising of the concept of belonging within geography (Mee & Wright 2009, Antonsich 2010). My research has contributed to conceptualisations of belonging, most notably to previous attempts being made within geography to provide a more coherent framework for analysing belonging. In this thesis I have discussed the important analytical distinction between a politics of belonging and an emotional and subjective feeling of being 'at home' - a distinction for example drawn by Antonsich (2010), Fenster (2005)

or Yuval-Davis et al. (2006). While these theories have influenced previous research, scholarship has, as Antonsich (2010) also points out, tended to focus on the politics of belonging. This approach, however, runs the risk of essentialising exclusion and simplifies the lived reality of those having to negotiate and cope with marginalisation and exclusion.

With my own research project I demonstrated the complex and ambivalent nature of belonging experienced by young refugees living in Glasgow. I suggested that by focusing on the everyday it was possible to account for experiences of belonging at the intersection of a politics of belonging and a feeling of being 'at home'. In exploring the everyday lives of young people taking part in this study I could render visible the complex interweaving of these different dimensions of belonging and the constant tension between exclusionary politics of belonging and young people's daily practices of home making and community building. I thereby also highlighted the interrelationality of belonging across scales; an embodied and affective sense of belonging on a local level was shown to be influenced by wider politics of belonging - as young people's narratives of visibility and a sense of being 'out of place' in particular quotidian spaces illustrated. At the same time embodied everyday experiences of belonging were shown to potentially form the basis for young people's engagement with these politics and their 'quiet' claims to belonging.

Besides, by exploring young refugees' experiences of being 'at home' I was able to contribute to the framework of belonging developed by the geographer Antonsich (2010). To begin with I suggested that Antonsich's conceptualisation of home did not do justice to the centrality of a sense of security for experiences of belonging. Utilising contributions made by scholars focusing on experiences of home in the context of migration, most notably by Hage (1997) and Noble (2005), in this thesis I have demonstrated the significance of a sense of safety for establishing a feeling of being 'at home'. I have thereby also drawn attention to the ways in which a sense of familiarity and security are intertwined, with seemingly banal everyday practices playing a central role in enabling feelings of safety and belonging. Furthermore I added to Antonsich's conceptualisation of belonging by emphasising the processual and emerging character of feelings of homeliness. While repetition and habit were shown as key to enabling a sense of belonging, I have also demonstrated the potentially transformative and creative character of the everyday.

Lastly my research has made an important contribution to thinking about 'communities' by showing a sense of belonging with others as not necessarily linked to processes of identification. While Antonsich (2010) affords attention to subjective feelings of being 'at home' in a place not fully determined by politics of belonging, there is less awareness of a sense of community not tied to negotiations of sameness and difference. In reference to the feminist scholars Diprose (2008) and Carrillo Rowe (2005), I have highlighted the open nature of young refugees' experiences of belonging with others, which were not necessarily based on notions of shared identity. This thereby had to be seen in a context in which young people did not have stable or lasting 'communities' to rely on and predominantly found themselves in everyday spaces surrounded by other migrants and refugees. In exploring young people's experiences of belonging in these spaces, I have suggested that shared identity played little role in enabling a sense of belonging; instead I drew attention to an affective and embodied sense of belonging marking young people's experiences. Influenced by geographies of affect, I pointed to the centrality of an affective sense of belonging emerging in-between bodies - emerging from the 'affective charge of being with others' (Darling 2010:251). I thereby also highlighted the significance of embodied everyday practices in creating a sense of community - such as watching television together or sharing food.

My explorations of young refugees' experiences of belonging with others furthermore provided important empirical contributions. While geographers have engaged with spaces of encounter between 'majority' and 'minority' populations (see for example Amin 2002, Matejskova & Leitner 2011, Valentine 2008), there is less awareness of asylum seekers arriving in the UK at first being 'integrated' into highly diverse communities with other migrants and refugees. Young people participating in this study often interacted with other migrants and refugees long before they were able to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow. A young man from Afghanistan in this context for example talked about learning how to cook from other young men in his accommodation - young people from various parts of the world. While he thus knew what Vietnamese *pho* tasted like, he had never tried any "Scottish food". This is important in a context in which 'asylum seekers' and 'refugees' are often depicted as unable or unwilling to 'integrate'; in this thesis young refugees' everyday realities were shown to be deeply marked by cross-cultural interactions and young people's cosmopolitan attitudes and practices (see below).

Furthermore, as I pointed out in the introduction of this thesis, scholarship engaging with the experiences of young refugees has tended to focus on those identified as 'children', in doing so also often failing to account for young refugees' agency in establishing their lives in the UK. A further important contribution of this research thus lay in its account of the ways in which participants actively created and carved out spaces and 'communities' of belonging. Whilst never losing sight of the complex interplay of everyday practices of 'homing' and exclusionary politics of belonging, I accounted for the ways in which young people engaged in - admittedly arduous and often small-scale - practices of home making. In this context I have discussed the importance of seemingly banal everyday processes of familiarising their surroundings and practices of home making based on 'productive nostalgia' (Blunt 2003). I have similarly documented young people's continuous attempts to establish a sense of community with others. In discussing young people's agency in this context I have drawn attention to their 'cosmopolitan' attitudes and practices, something previous research has taken little notice of. As de Block and Buckingham (2007) argue, depictions of refugee children have tended to show these as bewildered and as experiencing 'culture shock'. Yet through this research I have found an immense willingness of young people to engage with cultural and ethnic 'Others' and to learn from and with each other. As Chidi, a young man I quoted previously, commented - meeting others from all over the world had felt like a 'veil' being lifted from his face.

Including both those identified as 'children' as well as those (perceived to be) over the age of 18 has further enabled me to draw attention to the effects of categorising some groups as more 'vulnerable' than others. On the one hand being treated as 'adults' was shown to lead to greater vulnerabilities of older young refugees, for example in the context of housing and an increased dependence on informal support by refugee networks. On the other hand being perceived as 'vulnerable' did not only work to the advantage of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children', but could also have a negative impact on young people's experiences of belonging. High levels of monitoring and control in supported accommodation for 'children' for some participants of this study was shown to lead to a sense of insecurity and un-homeliness. Being perceived as 'vulnerable' could therefore also limit young people's sense of agency and ability to feel 'at home'.

In addition this thesis has contributed to research carried out with young refugees in the Scottish context. While Scotland has been depicted as more welcoming in the

past, in this thesis I have shown that 'everyday racism' and a sense of being somewhat different and 'out of place' pervaded young people's daily lives - in particular in more homogenously 'white' areas of Scotland and Glasgow. Unlike more long-term ethnic minority groups in Scotland, as for example studied by Hopkins (2007) and Virdee et al. (2006), young refugees taking part in this research not only had to negotiate ethnic and religious 'differences' but also a lack of formalised belonging and citizenship; for many the sense that "this is not my country" thus remained.

Lastly I have drawn attention to the social marginalisation experienced by young asylum seekers and refugees living in Glasgow. When during my fieldwork I attended a conference about the experiences of 'unaccompanied asylum seeking children' in Scotland, I was sat on a table with a representative of the local college who pointed to the importance of her institution for bringing together young refugees. For the first two or three years in Glasgow, she suggested, contact with others who shared a similar background of forced migration was of primary concern. Through this research, however, it has become apparent that young people yearned to establish relationships with "Scottish people", that they longed to belong. Yet, as I have also shown in this thesis, young refugees faced several barriers in accessing spaces of ongoing and continuous encounter with more long-term residents of Glasgow. Integration networks operating since the early 2000s for example seldom seemed to be able to engage young people or to facilitate interactions between young refugees and more long-term residents of the city. Similarly colleges, while providing an important space for young refugees to meet other migrants and refugees, were shown to provide little opportunity for participants of this study to meet more long-term residents of Glasgow. Furthermore the housing situation of asylum seekers and refugees described in this study has been shown to further increase the social marginalisation experienced by young refugees, with young people being accommodated in areas of multiple deprivation and frequently in great distances from the city centre.

7.4 Future research projects

In this final subsection I will consider possible directions for future research. As is the case with most research projects, I left the 'field' with a whole range of new questions to explore. First of all this research was limited in terms of focusing in particular on young people who had arrived in Glasgow relatively recently. My thesis has traced

the beginnings of young refugees' journeys in the city, exploring the difficulties and challenges paving their way in these first few years. However, in order to fully understand the extent of the impact of processes of legal, economic and social marginalisation it would be central to carry out research with young people who have lived in Glasgow for longer periods of time. Returning to young people's experiences at a later stage would be particularly relevant in the context of social marginalisation. As the example of Apo has shown, young people often felt a sense of exclusion resulting from not being able to establish relationships with more long-term residents of Glasgow. Yet what would happen if Apo decided to stay in the city - in five years time, would his experiences be the same? What happens when young people move beyond ESOL classes or begin to work, who are they then able to meet and establish relationships with?

Somewhat connected to this issue are considerations regarding the economic marginalisation of young refugees. The young people participating in this research were mostly in education and were predominantly learning English. Yet what I could observe was that the small number of young people who already worked part-time often had found employment through networks with other migrants and refugees. Their social capital in this context was limited and they would often end up in precarious and manual labour, for example working in restaurants or factories. Where they could find employment frequently seemed determined by networks with those sharing the same ethnic background; young Kurds for example would tend to work in car washes or barber's shops, and young Vietnamese people could most easily access employment in nail bars. In addition I observed that many of the young people were encouraged to follow particular career paths by college advisers, for example pushing young women towards nursing and care. Here again young people's social networks seemed to also influence these choices; I came across a number of young women who had decided to study care, since this was something their friends had chosen too. They thereby had few role models other than other young refugees, which I would suggest limited their 'horizon of possibility' (Crozier & Davis 2006). Considering that a sense of possibility and opportunity are central for a feeling of being 'at home', as Hage (1997) suggests, and the importance of economic factors in this context (Antonsich 2010), it would be important to carry out research exploring young people's future career paths. While there is knowledge of the limited economic opportunities of older refugees (see Mulvey 2013), it would be central to establish whether young refugees despite arriving at a young age face similar

limitations. In this context one could include young people's experiences with colleges and job centres, exploring which career choices are encouraged and how young people are supported in planning their careers. I could imagine that a participatory approach to this would prove particularly useful.

A further important area of inquiry would be to explore the role of individual relationships in enabling a sense of belonging for young people. Unfortunately this was beyond the scope of this thesis, yet over the course of my fieldwork the significance of individual friendships for young refugees' feelings of being 'at home' became apparent. Particularly interesting in this context were friendships between young people of different national backgrounds. One of the most touching experiences of my fieldwork was to witness the growing friendship between a young man from Southern Asia and young South-Eastern Asian woman. While the young man had built relationships with others sharing the same national background, he never fully trusted or felt 'at home' with these others; the young woman from South-Eastern Asia was the only person he would confide in when struggling through the asylum system, the only friend he seemed to trust. Interestingly in our interview the young man talked about the fact that in his country of origin it would have been unthinkable for him to develop friendships with women. It would be highly fascinating to study friendships between young people in more detail, exploring changing notions of friendship, and how these relationships enable and facilitate a sense of belonging.

Somewhat related to this, I suggest that 'romantic' relationships could form another important area of inquiry. Aside from one young woman, young people taking part in this research were not married; for many their parents would have previously arranged for a suitable partner, yet being in Glasgow this was impossible for most. The economic precariousness experienced by young refugees could thereby further limit their ability to establish a family - one of the young men participating in this study for example wished to get married to a woman from his country of origin, yet was unable to afford this. He consequently felt somewhat trapped, feeling too old for not having a family of his own, but unable to change his situation. I would suggest that further research could provide interesting insights into how young people establish relationships in their new surroundings, how changing conceptions of love and marriage influence their decisions and how these relationships impact on their experiences of being 'at home'.

Lastly, in thesis I argued that young people engaged in politics of belonging 'quietly'. Yet what about increasing the volume of these claims to belonging? In the many conversations I had with service providers at the British Red Cross we often reflected on creating a platform for young people to address issues affecting their lives, in dialogue with various relevant agencies in Glasgow. Based on participatory approaches, this of course would be a lengthy project, yet being led by young people it could provide important impetus for change.

Appendix A

Appendix 1: Table of participants

Appendix 2: Questions and themes guiding interviews

Appendix 3: Information poster for Guardianship film making workshop

Appendix 4: Invitation for the information evening - 'Our Glasgow' project

Appendix 5: Timetable - 'Our Glasgow' project

Appendix 6: Extracts from field-diary

Appendix 7: Consent form - Young people

Appendix 1: Table of participants

Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Region of origin	Age band	Religion	Involvement in research
Ade	F	Western Africa	22-25	Christian	Interview
Alan	M	Western Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview
Aleeza	F	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Ali	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Participatory projects
Amina	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Christian	Participatory projects
Anna	F	Eastern Africa	22-25	Christian	Interview
Apo	M	Western Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Awar	M	Western Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview
Ayoub	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Participatory projects
Bagir	M	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Ben	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Not religious	Interview
Bilal	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Bob	M	Northern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Cash	M	Western Africa	15-18	Not known	Interview & participatory project

Cecil	M	Western Africa	19-21	Christian	Interview
Chidi	M	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Cutie	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory projects
Cynthia	F	Middle Africa	15-18	Christian	Interview & participatory project
Diana	F	Western Africa	15-18	Christian	
Doris	F	Western Africa	15-18	Christian	Interview
Ducky	M	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Ferhan	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Frances	F	Middle Africa	15-18	Christian	Interview & participatory project
Goran	M	Western Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview
Gray	M	Southern Africa	15-18	Christian	Interview
Ha	F	South-Eastern Asia	15-18	Not religious	Interview
Hassan	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Hersh	M	Western Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview
JayZ	M	Western Africa	15-18	Not known	Interview & participatory projects
Jellyfish	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project

Julia	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Julien	M	Western Africa	19-21	Christian	Interview
Kaka	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Katherine	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Christian	Participatory project
Lamin	M	Western Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Mary	F	Western Africa	15-18	Christian	Participatory project
Mhairi	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Mohammad	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	
Mussa	M	Western Africa	22-25	Muslim	Interview
Nabas	M	Southern Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview & participatory project
Nawzad	M	Southern Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview
Nazar	M	Southern Asia	19-21	Muslim	Interview
Patience	F	Western Africa	19-21	Christian	Interview
Pin	M	South-Eastern Asia	19-21	Christian	
Rahel	F	Eastern Africa	22-25	Christian	Interview
Rihanna	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview

Sack	M	Western Africa	19-21	Christian	Interview & participatory project
Sadaf	F	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Saman	M	Western Asia	22-25	Muslim	
Samir	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Samuel	M	Southern Asia	22-25	'Spiritual'	Interview
Sardasht	M	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview
Selina	F	Eastern Africa	15-18	Muslim	Interview & participatory projects
Solav	F	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview
Thanh	M	South-Eastern Asia	15-18	Christian	Interview
Tom	M	Southern Asia	15-18	Muslim	Interview
Toma	M	Western Africa	22-25	Muslim	
Tu	M	South-Eastern Asia	15-18	Christian	Interview & participatory project
Tuan	M	South-Eastern Asia	15-18	Christian	Interview
Yashar	M	Southern Asia	22-25	Muslim	Interview

Appendix 2: Questions and themes guiding interviews

(p) - Group interviews: Ask young people to answer this on post-it notes first

Start off: Can you tell me a bit about what it was like when you first came to Glasgow/Scotland?

What has changed since then?

Topic guide:

Friendship

What makes a good friend? (p)

Where do you meet new friends? How do you make new friends?

To what extent is it important that your friend has the same background as you?

Is it important for you to have Scottish friends? Why/not?

Support

To what extent do you have people in your life who support or help you?

Who is that? How do they help you?

Do you also help others?

To what extent do you feel that you have to deal with your problems on your own?

Safety

Can you think about a place where you feel safe? (p)

What makes you feel safe?

Where do you feel safe in Glasgow/Scotland? (p)

Home

What/where is home for you?

Why is it important to have a home?

To what extent does Glasgow feel like home to you?

Could Glasgow/Scotland become a home for you some day?

What helps you feel at home? What makes it difficult?

What about the place you live in now? Does your house feel like a home? Why (not)?

What is your neighbourhood like?

Scotland/Glasgow

Can you think about good things/bad things about Glasgow/Scotland? (p)

What are Scottish people like?

How are people in the UK/Scotland different from people you have grown up with? Or what is different about life in Scotland to countries you previously lived in?

Is it important to stay in touch with the culture of the country you lived in before?
(What does 'culture' mean for you?)

Have you ever had any negative experiences living in Scotland?

(Do you think Scotland should be independent? Why (not)?)

The asylum system

What are your experiences? Do you think it is clear and fair?

Did you feel you were listened to?

Future/spare time

What do you like to do in your spare time?

How is college for you? What are you doing now and what would you like to do in the future at college?

Where and what would you like to be in future?

Appendix 3: Information poster for Guardianship film making workshop

FILM WORKSHOP



Info evening on the **17 July 2012, 3-5pm**

What is it?

We are planning to host a film project that involves you developing an idea for a film, learning all the skills you need to make it and then to film and edit the actual film. The project is meant to teach you important skills and be fun, but also forms part of Joanna's research with the Scottish Refugee Council. She currently tries to find out more about the lives of young asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland, the problems they face in everyday life and the things that enable them to feel safe and at home in Glasgow.

The project will be supported by the film maker **Lucas Kao**, who has filmed with some of you early this year. The project is designed in an open way and **YOU** decide:

- What the film exactly is about.
- What kind of film it is going to be (an animation, a fictional story, your own stories or a journalistic piece – it's up to YOU.)
- What your role in the project is – do you want to write a script, do the filming, the editing, be an actor or just contribute with your ideas?
- Who is going to see the film once it's finished – do you want it to be just for your own use or share it with people outside the Guardianship project?

When?

The idea is to have the workshop over the course of several afternoons in the beginning of August; at our information evening we can try to identify the dates that are most suitable for you.

Additional information:

If you participate in the project you will of course get all your expenses paid. You'll get bus passes for the time of the project and we will organise snacks and drinks. All the equipment will also be provided by us.

With: Joanna & Lucas



Appendix 4: Invitation for the information evening - 'Our Glasgow' project



Hello!

We would like to invite you to a very special exhibition

Please come and see **Our Glasgow – The Exhibition.**

**Saturday the 1st of June at 2pm at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow
(2 North Street, Glasgow).**

You will recognise some of the photos & people!!

This is an invite only event, of previous photography projects' participants & partners. Projects covered include those which have been supported by BRC, SRC & Guardianship, since 2011.

Also... we are planning a very exciting new, advanced photography project ...

Our Glasgow... A Young Refugee's Guide to the City.

If you've been involved in previous photo projects, we would love to have you involved in this project too... We are going to start in June and run for 8 weeks over summer 2013, with the idea that at the end we will create a photo guidebook for other young refugees.

Come along on Saturday 1st June, a 2pm @ the Mitchell Library to find out more....!

Thank you!! & hope to see you there –

Becky and Joanna

P.S - Let us know if you can come!

Appendix 5: Timetable - 'Our Glasgow' project

Open Aye & Joanna Wiseman:

Our Glasgow

A Pictorial Orientation Guide to Glasgow, created By, and For, Young Refugees

Participatory Photography Group - Summer 2013

Workshop Schedule:

Session 1: *01.06.2013* **The Invite:** Previous interested participants asked along to info session to be invited onto project, gathering of ideas for the guide itself and celebration of previous achievements.

Workshop 1: 18.06.2013 Getting the project started

- Intros. Team games and bonding.
- Going through photographs of previous projects and talking about people's choices
- Explanations of project. What would the young people like from project?
- Discussion of what kind of image of Glasgow young people would like to portray (diff. ideas such as 'glamorous', 'green and grey', and the question whether 'bad things' about Glasgow should be included)
- Short trip to Kelvingrove Museum to see the exhibition of *Scottish Natural Heritage's Open Aye for Natural Scotland* and practice photography skills.

Workshop 2: 19.06.2013 Planning the actual guide

- Team games. Team bonding.
- Reviewing yesterday's photographs
- Discussion of existing guides - what is missing? In what way can our guide be better/different?
- Identifying categories for the guide: areas/home, services, parks, colleges, churches and mosques, shopping, markets, emergency contacts, libraries, leisure activities
- Discussion of what should be included, what should be left out - are there negative things that should be included?

- Walk to Glasgow Green to further practice photography skills

Workshop 3: *20.06.2013* **Camera Techniques & Upskilling**

- Learning to use the new advanced cameras
- Further discussion of categories, putting earlier notes/post-its into categories
- Excursion to Pollok Country Park to see roots of environmental portrait in paintings and to further practice photography skills

Workshops 4: *26.06.2013* **Portrait Photography and Finalising Categories**

- Slideshow of last week's photographs
- Examples of portrait photography
- Discussion of 'advice section' of the guide and reviewing other categories

Workshop 5: *03.07.2013* **Discussion, Portrait Photography and Outshoot**

- Slideshow of work – including 'home-work' young people did
- Group appraisals and feedback
- Advanced skills: environmental portraits – practicing with Guardian and community police officers
- Discussion of 'dark stuff' – should this be included in the guide?
- Planning outshoots of service providers (in small groups)
- Venturing out to get photographs of Home Office, reporting centre and Unity Office/Shop

Workshop 6: *10.07.2013* **Teaching and Learning with Chrysalis Participants**

- Discussing the afternoon with Chrysalis participants
- Showcasing the pictures of the previous weeks to current Chrysalis participants
- Feedback by Chrysalis participants - what is missing? What do they like?
- Excursion along the river Clyde to take pictures of leisure activities and teach Chrysalis participants basic photography skills

Workshop 7: *17.07.2013* **Post Production 2 & Multimedia creation**

- Review of 'home-work' photographs and Chrysalis photographs (compared to group's advanced skills)
- Learning photo-shop basics

Workshop 8: *24.07.2013* **Our Glasgow - Finalising Plans**

- Reviewing images - what is missing?
- Pulling together the book

Workshop 9: *31.07.2013* **Book & Website**

- Working on book and potential websites

Workshop 10: *07.08.2013* **Finalising book & reviewing website/Big Day Out**

- Reviewing final book - final edits (title, colours etc.)
- Reviewing website created by Doug
- Big day out at Loch Lomond to celebrate achievement

Appendix 6: Extracts from field-diary

16 April 2012 - My first day with Chrysalis

Today was the first day of Chrysalis. Something went wrong with the referrals and only 12 people were 'scraped together', not all the most vulnerable as B. says. It's a big mix of people, from several countries in the world and all ages from 16 to 25. Refugees and asylum seekers. Here for different amounts of times. I wonder what it was like for the young people, this first meeting. Awkward? Exciting? Boring? Because I can only transfer my own feelings on to them. I should ask them in the interview.

So we waited at the BRC for some of the young people to arrive and then walked to the YWCA, where the course takes place. One of the young boys got lost on the way. I think he is a recent arrival from Iran (or Iraq?). Like another young man who is very chatty, also speaks on his phone a lot. Very positive and eager. We start off introducing ourselves and each other... and then some games in which we have to communicate without language, the second task (line up according to age) doesn't really work. Everyone uses the same method, writing numbers on their hands. Of course numbers look different in every country (alone the 7 in Britain and in Austria...). It's easy to forget about one's 'culture'.

With introducing each other to our neighbour we are also asked to find ourselves on the map. It seems difficult for many participants. Many are not familiar with maps at all. Most of them have no idea where their country is, they do not know about continents or the world. What a view of the world must that be? But they must feel that they are expected to know what to do and they don't say clearly that this is new to them. The Vietnamese girl hovers a while over China before I direct her towards Vietnam.

James, who sits next to me, asks me if I am Scottish and I tell him I'm from Austria. He seems a bit disappointed, although I am not sure how to interpret his facial expression. He later asks me where the teacher is from and I say – Scotland and he says 'I like Scottish people'. I have to ask him why. I think they live in Maryhill.

We are also asked to say what we like. Hersh says beautiful girls make him happy.

After a general introduction we have a break. Everything is laid out in the kitchen and everyone is free to go and take whatever they want. It's interesting that all the boys,

apart from the male interpreter, do not set foot into the kitchen. They hang out in the room outside, a clear segregation between men and women. The girls all immediately gravitate towards the kitchen and get drinks and snacks, sit in front of it. Also when B. suggests a cooking course, James shakes his head saying he can't cook.

They are asked what they want to learn in the coming weeks, they say: orientation, culture, rules, language, going out and meeting people, money... cooking? Questions about what the young people want to learn include Doris asking: Why do Scottish people wear skirts? And why is my country hot, Scotland so cold?

The interpreters don't translate everything, also not the jokes. There is one young girl from Afghanistan and she does not know any English. She seems shy? Some of the young people are wearing very 'trendy' clothes, they seem connected to the youth culture in Scotland to a certain degree, but not this girl... Why am I noticing this? Why is it important? How does it affect meeting young Scottish people?

We talk about the ground rules for the space after the break. The teacher only has very few rules, the ones the young people come up with are entirely positive and affirmative – no prohibiting rules. They are all along the lines of 'be supportive and caring for each other', be able to ask questions, etc. they are not that bothered about waiting, although B. suggests timings and boredom of waiting.

There is one young girl (18?) who has a baby-boy of 14 months. I wonder what happened to her. Another one tells me about her experience of not finding a bus that takes her home from the city centre because of the one way streets, it took her more than an hour. In the end everyone gets bus passes. Would be interesting to know how they use them. (...)

27 June 2013 - Reflecting on interviews

Just a few notes about yesterday - I had an interview with Tom and also with Ferhan beforehand. The latter... I am not sure how well it went. What Ferhan said seemed very formulaic and somewhat rehearsed and also not really about his feelings, but about 'services', if that makes any sense. I think he has talked a lot with people recently about the residential unit he lives in, because it might be closed. So he probably said the same things several times before. It was interesting going to his home though, and the power dynamics of that, doing an interview there – it was *his* space. There was so much staff around when I was there – one cook and at least three residential staff. It is a three storey town house, with a reception room/meeting room, a big lounge with flat screen TV, computer with internet – the cook had just made lunch when I was there.

I sat down with another young person who was having her meal when I was waiting for Ferhan. She was talking about coming to participation the first time and us watching 'Cool Runnings', back then she didn't understand a word, but could still find it funny, she said. She is going to school and seems to be learning quickly. Also the other boy, who lives there goes to school, I think. He was funny, immediately talking to me – telling me how no one helps him, the key workers etc, he is left "all alone" (...) I asked - where are you from, which I normally don't do, but he seemed the kind of person who you could ask anything, and he said, "Iran, but I hate Iran!"

I later met Tom for an interview – he wanted a Scottish name straight away and I am not sure how the interview went. He somehow wanted to talk to me but also acted as if he was doing me a favour. We talked for an hour or so, he didn't want me to record so I had to take notes. Also here, not so much about feelings... not sure if it was me? He found it strange me asking about spare time and future plans, he said you don't have to note that and then talked about doing Taekwondo and also about wanting to be in the navy or a racing driver. I am full of doubts, do I ask the right stuff, right kinds of questions, go into detail enough, about the focus in general and argh... I wish I had more support, someone who gives me confidence, but I feel I am free floating and making so many mistakes... Anything else? Remembering the girls talking about mosque, saying as girls they don't really have to go... Giggling about it. (...)

Appendix 7: Consent form - Young people

The (im)possibility of belonging?

The experiences of young asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland

Researcher: **Joanna Wiseman**

University of Newcastle/Scottish Refugee Council

Contact:

e-mail j.v.wiseman@newcastle.ac.uk, **telephone** 07772806122

CONSENT FORM

I _____, agree to take part in this research focusing on young asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland.

Joanna has explained her research to me and I understand what she is doing.

I understand that

- Everything I say will be treated with complete **confidentiality**. That means that Joanna will **not pass on any information** I don't wish to share without my consent, unless she has **serious** concerns about my wellbeing.
- I can decide **not to take part** in the research **at any stage**. I can also just take time out when I don't feel like taking part for a while.
- Similarly I can decide to **withdraw my data** at any time.
- I can decide myself if what I say is being **recorded** or not. I can read the **written version** of what I have said if I want to.
- All the records of this research will be destroyed after Joanna has completed her research project and until then will be **stored securely**.
- My identity will be **anonymised** and I can choose my own pseudonym.
- This has **nothing to do with my asylum claim** and will have **no impact** on the asylum process.
- It will also not affect the services I receive from the **Scottish Refugee Council** or the **British Red Cross**.

Signature:

Date:

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